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# SUGGESTIONS

TOWARDS THE

# FUTURE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

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BY

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# PREFACE.

It seems necessary to explain the apparently strange act of one like myself publishing a pamphlet on the political question of the hour. The simple truth is, that my lately-issued historical sketch of "British Rule in India" is too exclusively historical to satisfy all readers, at a time when there is a demand for ideas as to the future government of India; and, as a natural consequence, I have been urgently requested to present, in some familiar form, certain inferences from the past history, and suggestions from the present circumstances of Hindostan and its rulers, which may possibly be of use in the impending controversy about the maintenance or abolition of the East India Company. The leisure, quietness, and impartial position of the sick-room seemed to render the request reasonable; and I have had much satisfaction in doing what I could to induce consideration and caution, in prospect of the most formidable legislative proposition that has been brought forward for many years. If no good can be done by such means, there can, at least, be no harm; for it is a case in which the policy of the English reformers is conservative; and it is the

Ministerial scheme which complicates with its old Tory view a revolutionary tendency. This tendency is sufficiently obvious to justify a hope that the people of England and their representatives will be on their guard: but every warning may be of more or less use; and it is this consideration which is answerable for the appearance of the present pamphlet.

There is no pretence of originality in what I have written. I have gathered suggestions (as in my recent volume I gathered facts) from all quarters. If I were to specify one source rather than another, it would be, as supplying some of the heads in Part II, the pamphlet on the "Principles of Indian Reform," published by the late Mr. JOHN CHAPMAN, the year before his lamented death.

Some apology may be considered desirable for the confident, if not abrupt, tone of what I have written. I had no strength and no space to spare in diluting the expression of what I had to say: and I must simply refer any critical reader to my title, and remind him that, in offering "Suggestions," there is no need of the disclaimers and apologies which may soften the positive tone of a discourse or argument.

AMBLESIDE, *January* 23*rd*, 1858.

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# SUGGESTIONS

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## INTRODUCTION.

THE time has arrived which will determine whether we shall lose India very soon, or keep it as a more valuable portion of the British empire than it has ever been yet. Events have hastened the hour when we must take a new departure in our administration of our great dependency. If we take time to collect, and reason from, all procurable knowledge on the subject of India, we may make arrangements for which the whole world will be the better. If we hastily decide that India shall be a Crown colony, ruled directly and entirely from England, according to existing British notions and habits of colonial government, we shall lose India, speedily, disgracefully, and so disastrously that the event will be one of the most conspicuous calamities in the history of nations. If it is true that this is the alternative before us, every man's duty is plain;—to exert him-

self to avert a hasty decision, first, and to procure a wise one afterwards.

The commonest remark made in all companies and in all periodicals within the last half-year, has been that scarcely anybody knows anything about India. Outside of the small Anglo-Indian society collected in London and about the Company's colleges, there is next to no knowledge at all about the history, the geography, or the politics of Hindostan. So says the *Times* newspaper; and such is the frank acknowledgment of candid persons whom one meets every day, seeking for knowledge. The mutiny has helped most of us to some of the geography of the country; but its history and political condition are not to be so easily picked up: and it may be confidently said that no honest constituency in the kingdom would pretend to be qualified to decide, through its representatives, on the best method of dealing with such a dependency as India. We may hope to see the great majority of the two Houses making the same admission, and insisting on not being hurried into legislation which all future generations may deplore. But it is so strongly believed that Lord Palmerston will assume that both people and government are in a condition to legislate, that there is no time to lose in putting forth a plea for rational caution, and a warning against such insolent precipitancy as too often follows an equally insolent apathy and procrastination. Such a plea and such a warning are furnished by the most cursory review of the conditions of the case;—conditions so remarkable, so peculiar, so new to the

imagination and judgment of Englishmen, as to demand time and study which another year will scarcely afford.

*The Case Unprecedented.*—Before arriving at the separate conditions of the case of India, we can see how peculiar the whole case is. For the first time we have to decide on a method of governing a vast territory and population, without aid from precedent or analogy. Even if we made no change at all in the apparatus of Government, it would be a new departure, because it would be a choice—a deliberate adoption of a scheme of rule: and to such a choice there is no parallel in our history—nor perhaps in any other. Our great privilege as a nation is that our British institutions have grown up, naturally and inevitably, from our character and our circumstances together. No man or body of men ever invented, or even foresaw, our constitution, as we are living under it now. Our colonies individually grew up in much the same way, with the difference that the colonists went out level, as it were, with the political and social state of things at home, and therefore easy to provide for as natural subjects of British law and authority. The only option required in their case was how far to assimilate the arrangements of the colony to those at home; how far to conclude that the same sort of men could, in a different country, live in the same sort of way as at home. Neither in our own case in Europe, nor in that of any British settlement in Africa or America, have we ever had to make a constitution, or lay out a clear and complete scheme of political life,

dating from a fresh starting-point. Our British communities were never "made: they 'spect they growed." Our "plantations," as our earlier colonies were called, were not from new seed or borrowed cuttings, selected according to a scheme; but a spread of the branches of the stout old banyan which we who live under it consider the best of all trees, and do not wish to retrench in favour of more varied growths. The case of India never was, and never can be, at all like this: and the present work of legislating for our dependency is no more like any former task proposed under the same title, than that was like ruling Nova Scotia or Australia. Our footing in India began and extended without the national cognizance, as it were; and when the region became ours, it was not ruled by the British Government; and to this hour it has never ostensibly been so. It is no colony of ours. It has never been national territory, peopled from home, and organized under the English constitution and laws. The question now—and a tremendous problem it is—is whether India *shall* be a colony of ours; whether it *shall* be ruled by the British Government as a colony. The question is unique, whether we consider the length of time that India has been our dependency, or the magnitude and variety of the human races involved, or the unlikeness to ourselves of the people whose destiny we propose to determine. Such a problem clearly requires great knowledge, patience, and disinterested sagacity for its satisfactory solution: and there is nothing in an insurrection, and six months' national agony from it, which can endow us

with the requisite qualifications; but rather the contrary. We know that we are not furnished with the knowledge: as for the rest, if, as a people, we are undisturbed by passion at what has taken place, we shall be disposed to wait, in order to learn and judge: and if we are disturbed by passion, so as to be impatient to be settling Indian affairs, we are clearly unfit to legislate. Whichever way it is looked at, the peculiarity of the case is a protest against precipitancy.

*Our Colonial Experience.*—If, in the next place, we glance at the results of our colonial legislation and rule, we shall see no such eminent success as should tempt us to follow our old methods in a new and fundamentally different case. Where the residents have been of British race, we have not, till quite recently, made them very happy; and where other races were concerned, we have committed deplorable mistakes. One great group of colonies we lost. Their secession may have been a blessing to us and to them; but it is so through their identity with us in race, civilization, and political ideas. The loss was discreditable to us, whatever may be the issue. Such a mode of secession is impossible in the Indian case, though the Company's government once thought otherwise, and forbade the colonizing of their territory on that ground; but any mode of secession possible in the India case would be not only discreditable to us, but so disgraceful and calamitous, that England would never recover from the blow. Our existing North American colonies have gone through a long period

of chronic discontent, put an end to in the only possible way—by giving them, first, adequate imperial attention, and then the means of self-government which they had grown up to. India could not stand such a process. We now see the form which chronic discontent would assume there; and the territory would be lost before adequate imperial attention could be drawn to it—especially as self-government is an impossible solution in the case. Next, there are our West India colonies. We have done what we could there in reparation of our misdeeds to the negro race and our favouritism to the planters; but the alternating distresses of the two races are an evidence of such serious errors in colonial government as leave us no cause for confidence that we could succeed better in ruling a greater number of races under far more difficult circumstances. In our Cape settlements we have a painful spectacle of wars in the territory and discontent in the colonists; the wars being (as Dr. Livingstone shows, and nobody now seems to dispute) the result of mismanagement, and the discontent of a kind to be superseded in the same way as in Canada—a way wholly impracticable in India. Our Australian colonies are thoroughly British and very modern. If we had fully succeeded anywhere, it would have been there; and less failure is witnessed there than in any prior instance; but the case yields no encouragement to apply colonial government to India. There, where the land was almost clear for British occupation, and where pains were taken to transplant something like a complete section of British society, there has been

perpetual difficulty between the settlers and their rulers; and, as is generally admitted, the appropriate remedy is again the same as in the Canadian case—self-government on English principles, beginning from the time when each colony yields the requisite ruling element out of its own community. In a tributary empire, like India, composed of a group of ancient kingdoms, with the interstices occupied by diverse races of native Asiatics, there never was, and there never can be, anything analogous to any colony we ever had. To propose a method of government grounded on a supposed analogy which never existed, is a step so daring, and, in the present state of our popular knowledge, so wild, that the mere suggestion should rouse every man to take his part in controlling the risk, by requiring good reasons from the proposer in the first place, and time to consider them in the next.

# PART I.

## THE CONDITIONS.

*Desiderata.* — Before we can judge of, or even ascertain, the CONDITIONS of the case of India, we must know what it is that we want. We want good government for India, no doubt: but what do we mean by good government? What is our aim? What is the first object we must keep in view? That settled, what is the next?

We have learned so much, we may hope, from our colonial and other political experience as to be ready with the first answer. Our chief aim is the welfare of the people of India. That welfare comprehends our own under the great natural laws of society: but if it were otherwise, the answer must still be the same. Whether the tributary population be the remnants of a Red Indian tribe on a Canadian plain, or a hundred millions of people of various races, languages, and manners, the answer must, in all rectitude, be the same. The welfare of the little remnant of aborigines cannot interfere materially with that of the new comers; and the welfare of the hundred millions of old residents has an imperative claim to consideration over that of any kind or number of invaders. The conditions of the India case must be studied with a steady reference to the welfare of the people of India in the first place.

The next aim is the welfare of the people of England: the people at large, and not any section or clique who may conceive that they have a hereditary or other special claim to enjoy the patronage or other good things of India. Under this head is comprehended the welfare of British settlers in Hindostan, who are simply Englishmen choosing to live there.

It is hardly necessary to consider, as a third head, the interests of the world, as they are involved in the growth of civilization; because this could not be an aim separately pursued, as either of the others can be conceived to be. Suffice it that as the welfare of the people of India involves that of the British nation, so do both involve the general human interest in the rise and spread of civilization.

## Conditions of the Indian Case.

Desiring, then, the welfare of the people of India, from Thibet to Ceylon, and from Burmah to the Punjaub, what are the conditions of the case, now that we must decide how to govern them for the future? What are *their* conditions?

1. *Dimensions Involved.* — Let us try to conceive of a territory of 837 square miles; and of a population of 132,000,000. This is the estimate of our own States alone; but, in contemplating the case of India, we must include the Native States, whose fortunes are implicated with the welfare of the British possessions which surround them. We may better understand the vastness of the area by looking across from north to south and from east to west. From the Himalaya to

Ceylon the distance is nearly 2,000 miles; and from the Burrampooter to the Indus it is 1,500 or more. Leaving out the French and Portuguese settlements, the inhabitants of this area are more than 180,000,000. Those who profess to have an opinion as to how we should govern India, should attend to these dimensions, and not merely let the estimate pass before their eyes. They should remember that the area is as large as the whole of Europe, with the exception of Russia (larger, indeed, to the amount of 144,150 square miles), and that the population of India is within 19,000,000 of that of all Europe, exclusive of Russia.

This population lives in a country the resources of which are practically unbounded. Already, under all the disadvantages of thousands of years of misgovernment, followed by foreign invasion, and above a century of almost incessant warfare, the land in British possession pays above 13,000,000*l.* a year; nearly 2,000,000*l.* from salt; and nearly 4,000,000*l.* from opium. While cultivation is perpetually on the increase, there are wide tracts remaining to be brought under tillage. Though there is yet not a railway of any considerable length in the country, and only one great and well-made road; and though ancient waterworks have lapsed into ruin, there is trade enough to support many millions of people on the spot, and many hundreds of thousands in England. The natives of India take from us goods to the amount of less than one shilling a head per annum, while the most backward of other countries, as South America,

take nine times as much per head: but, at the low rate of Indian commerce, the resources of the country are still enormous. With good government it would be easy to raise the amount of production and exchange to that of our best customers; for nowhere is there a region more splendidly wealthy by nature; and the main hindrance, the want of roads and canals, is in course of removal, as we all know. In considering the conditions of the case of India, from the Indian point of view, it is necessary to include that of the natural wealth of the country, in that accessible state which our public works will soon realize. We cannot compute it; and the most moderate estimate would look like statistics from the desk of Baron Munchausen: but such natural wealth is assuredly one of the features of the question which must not be overlooked. As Macaulay has observed, the people of India were clothed in fine muslins, and shawls of Epicurean beauty when our ancestors dyed their skins with woad; and their great men lived in the splendour of a fairy tale before our kings lived in palaces: and yet the resources of their territory had scarcely begun to be attended to. The inhabitants have now more natural wealth than ever—more than speculation itself attempts to estimate; while they are just entering upon that application of the arts of life which will practically increase their resources beyond all computation. If well governed, India must yield occupation and subsistence to hundreds of millions of human beings, at home and abroad. Such a case is not one to be dealt with hastily, or on a

rash application of principles and methods, because they may be the best for other races in other latitudes.

2. *Characteristics.*—This leads us to the second class of conditions. The native races of India, diverse as they are, all differ more from us than from each other. There is a tendency in us to make light of differences of race in questions of government; a tendency which is an error on the best side, since our race honestly claims to be the highest: but still an error. The American slaveholder exaggerates the differences of race, just as our first adventurers in India did, and the Spaniards in Mexico, to justify tyranny; and there is some generosity in the view that all races would be much like ourselves under the same training. But not only has this never been proved, but science and experience unite in an opposite testimony. What concerns us in the present case is, not the argument about race, but the fact that India has always, within our experience, been occupied by nations and tribes of various races, whose bodily organization, mental condition, and moral characteristics differ exceedingly, while they are all so unlike ours that to this moment there is not one of them that we can understand. Englishmen who have passed their lives in India, in communication with the natives from day to day, give the most contradictory accounts of what they think, feel, and can do; and there seems to have been no single instance in which an Englishman could be, or ought to be, as soundly assured of understanding his native neighbour

in India as he is in England. The mutual understanding has not improved with time. Lord Cornwallis might possibly enter more into the native mind than Warren Hastings did; but, then, he knew it also better than any of his latest successors. A Cornwallis, a Malcolm, a Lawrence, may now and then turn up who penetrates further than other men who, with the best desires, have not their peculiar gift of sympathy; but the very ablest of such men are the readiest to declare that, in a general way, the native mind is not accessible by the European, beyond a mere skin depth. Will those who demand a parliamentary government for India consider for a moment how far Parliament is fit to rule 150,000,000 of people with incomprehensible minds?

In making a canal, or laying out railway works, we should consider it indispensable that the parties should have a knowledge of the *terrain;* and that they should not merely plan after the model of similar works at home. Yet, in the more important affair of laws, institutions, and social relations, it is proposed by some people to lay schemes which will probably turn out wholly inapplicable. One may cut through mountain ridges sooner than human prejudices. One may span defiles and torrents more easily than bridge over the chasms which yawn between races of men. One may repair the damage of mistaking bog for rock, and transposing elevations and depressions of surface; but there is no remedy for the mischief of treating all men alike, not only in regard to having a conscience, but supposing that virtues and vices hold the same

relative places in the consciences of all races. Bad engineering from imperfect knowledge may be set right, at more or less cost: but bad government from the same cause must necessarily be fatal either to the rulers or the ruled; probably to both.

Not only are the people of India different in race from us and from each other, but they have other differences, political, religious, social and historical. How much we know of such matters at present late events have pointedly indicated. How many of us have learned within the last year whatever we know of the relations of the Sikhs, or the Ghoorkas, to the Bengalese, or even of the Mohammedans to the Hindoos? Are we so well versed in the history of Indian conquests as to be ready to make arrangements in Parliament for the people who have always lived in India, and held the primeval faith and customs; and for those who came at such a time, bringing a new faith and new ideas and modes; and then, for another race from another quarter, introducing a yet different theory and practice of life? Are we prepared to decree a method of treatment which shall suit the Sikhs? and another adapted to the Bengal Hindoos? and another for the Mussulmans in Oude? to say nothing of the Bheels, and the Ghoorkas, and the Burmese, and the Cingalese, and a dozen others?

Such diversities of race, faith, and date involve a good many more, we must remember; such as modes of rule and subjection; a military or pacific polity, in all degrees, and sanctions of religion and morals.

The native life of India is chiefly moulded by tradition. The whole Hindoo polity springs immediately from tradition; and it is a great element in that of the Mogul empire. While some of us censure the East India Company for affording too much consideration to these old native bases of social life, and others will never let the Directors hear the last of it if they have unwittingly outraged native usages on any single point; how far is Parliament qualified—how far are the constituencies prepared to require Parliament—to undertake the government of all these strange Asiatics, who live and move and have their being in an atmosphere of tradition in which Anglo-Saxon Christians cannot draw a single breath of life?

3. *History.*—A third condition of the native case is an Asiatic political experience. It may be conceivable that, in course of ages, all manner of men may become qualified for representative institutions; the best at present known for the foremost races of men: but the time is certainly very far off; and there is no reason to suppose that the people of India will be among the earlier applicants for constitutional government. They have such an immense deal to get over before they can form the idea, or conceive the wish, that we really have no concern with either at present. In the case of all the tribes, their respective polities are heaven-descended. Each holds by the system he was born into, as by the rest of his religion; and all political and social arrangements are as sacred to him as his devotional rites. There is, therefore, a bottom-

less gulf open between them and us, as to the whole subject of government; and to them the entire range of political good and evil lies between the government which oppresses least and that which oppresses most. From one generation to another, their forefathers bore with an occasional tyrant for as long as the gods let him live to impale his subjects by scores, and maim them by hundreds, and starve them by thousands: and from one century to another they have been blessed by some comparatively good prince, whose memory they praise. Beyond this range, they know and imagine nothing: and they must forget their traditions, and pass through a wholly new training before they can know or imagine anything different.

No doubt, the sooner they begin to forget on the one hand, and learn on the other, the better. But the present question is of the conditions of their actual state. It being what it is, Parliamentary Government, which can conceive of none but representative institutions, seems to be precisely the most inappropriate that could be proposed.

So much for the conditions of the Native case. What are the conditions of ours; first in India, and then at home?

### Conditions of the Anglo-Indian Case.

1. *Specific State of Mind.*—The English in India have always been noted for losing nothing for want of self-confidence. It could not be otherwise. It was Clive's audacity which won India first; and the

whole history of our occupation is one of conspicuous ability achieving prodigious successes. That the coarse men should be arrogant, and the more refined sufficiently self-confident, is an inevitable consequence of such a history. Moreover, the English in India have always been, *ex officio*, possessed of a specific knowledge which must nourish their self-satisfaction. While immeasurably exalted above the natives by their European cultivation and character of intellect, they have found themselves superior to all whom they met at home in a special kind of information, which seemed to them more important than any other—knowledge of India and its affairs. The peculiarity of this knowledge, and its being distinctively held, necessarily generated specific prejudices. There is no department of knowledge which does not yield its own particular crop of prejudice,—exceedingly hurtful, unless a constant process of weeding is kept up by enlarged association with minds otherwise employed. Those which specially infest the Anglo-Indian mind need not be enlarged on here, as it is not proposed to make the British in India the arbiters of destiny there. It suffices that they *are*, amidst all their superiorities, subject to specially strong persuasions, which are not always defensible. The noble exceptions, which may be easily noted, only make the rule more evident.

2. *Antecedents.*—A yet more important condition is the mode in which our countrymen over there have arrived at their present position. Our empire in India began in commercial adventure, ordinarily

selfish in its character in old times; and we need not repeat so much of its history as would prove how unscrupulous, rapacious, violent, and crafty were some of the early heroes of the wonderful tale. The singularity of the case is, that out of such a beginning there has arisen an administration, benevolent in aim and disinterested in practice beyond any other that the world ever saw. Washington and his comrades may have aspired, and did aspire, to something as morally fine; but their design fell short of its accomplishment. So, to a certain extent, has that of the East India Company; but the project stands before the world for judgment; and it is of the utmost importance now that the world, and especially the English public, should gravely contemplate it. If the policy of the East India Company, since its attention has been devoted to its territorial rule, had been studied as it deserves, its aims (though frustrated), its benevolent vigilance (though baffled), the disinterestedness of its proposals (though overborne), and the extraordinary average ability of its officials (though slighted), would have obviated any such proposal as that our Indian empire should pass under Parliamentary government.

3. *Specific Errors.*—Another condition in the Anglo-Indian case is, the nature and character of the errors which have impaired the Company's rule.

Those errors seem to have been of two classes.

The first were errors of mere antiquity; such as the monopoly which was aimed at as a matter of course by the first merchant adventurers who obtained

a charter. There is no occasion to dwell now on the evidence, and the mischievous character, of the mistake. Any history of India will show what harm was done by "interlopers" on the one hand, and by the tyranny which they exasperated on the other. The early conflicts of the Company with the principles of free trade—principles only groping their way without a name or a claim—are interesting to read of, and very suggestive; but they need be only referred to here, and simply as affecting our position in India long after the error has been outgrown.

The other class of errors is of corporate origin. These are of the nature of monopoly; but the monopolizing principle was of a higher order by far than the obsolete commercial one. Perceiving more clearly than people at home have ever done, the difficulty of establishing any sound understanding between Europeans and the natives, the Company doubted the possibility of sustaining social order and existing native liberties without conflict, if the free ingress of Europeans were allowed. The secession of the American colonies on republican principles aggravated this fear at the time of that revolution, and sustained it afterwards; and, though there never could have been any danger of Asiatics rebelling on such grounds, there was nothing irrational in the dread of the operation of a promiscuous assemblage of European insurgents on the mind of Hindoo and Mohammedan communities. When time passed on, and the danger lessened, and the Company's rule was never spontaneously relaxed, it became clear that the

corporate spirit was more or less answerable for persistency in a policy of exclusion. This policy has had enough to do with our recent and present difficulties to justify its being set down among the conditions of the case we have to decide upon. This done, we may pass on to the third group of conditions; those, namely, which belong to the English at home, who, by themselves and their representatives in Parliament, constitute the jury and judge, or council and ruler, in the most important matter which could be brought before them.

### Conditions of the English Case.

1. *Popular Ignorance.* — The most obvious and unquestionable difficulty we have to deal with at present is the prodigious and insurmountable popular ignorance which disqualifies us as a nation for any immediate legislation for India. When the first news of the mutiny arrived, the extent of this ignorance became apparent. Not only did men of the working class want to know "why our people staid in such a place," and ask whether, "if they came away, their enemies would come after them," but some of the best educated persons in England admitted that they had never known till now how India was governed, and that they did not believe that one in a hundred of their cultivated acquaintances could tell how many Presidencies there were; nor whether Holkar was a Mohammedan or a Hindoo; nor who Scindiah was—unless he were the King of Scinde. Turn where we may, we can

find no comprehension of the magnitude of the Indian question—no notion whatever of the extent of difference between a colony inhabited by British, who are driving back the few hundreds of savage natives, and a tributary empire composed of groups of kingdoms, and occupied by a population as various and nearly as large as that of Europe—outside of Russia. When the simple question is asked "Whether it would be rational to put all the Continental nations, by the name of 'Europe' under the 'Parliamentary government' of any remote insular people," the stare with which the question is met is something memorable in the present state of our affairs. Considering that more or less familiarity with the particulars of any theocratic religion—of any of the primitive religions of the world, and with the scope and character of each body of native laws, and with the facts and philosophy of national manners and customs, is indispensable to the good government of tributary peoples, it is clear that our popular ignorance on the subject of India is the prominent condition of the whole case, from the point of view of the English at home. If our constituencies and their representatives are aware of the prevailing ignorance, they will certainly refuse to legislate in haste, on materials which they are not competent to test. If they are unconscious of such ignorance, it is of the more consequence that they should not be urged into a precipitancy which they may bitterly repent, but can never repair.

2. *One-sidedness.*—We may class under a single

head our one-sidedness on several of the great elements of the Indian question. For one thing, we are perpetually confounding constitutional government with representative institutions. In the *Political Dictionary* we find the first sentence of the article on that topic runs thus. "CONSTITUTION:—A term often used by persons at the present day without any precise notion of what it means." We might add, that if pressed for an account of what it means, nine in ten of us would answer, "Parliamentary government." We are apt to suppose that this is what Naples and Sicily demand when they remind their despot that they have a constitution, though he locks it up out of their reach. We are apt to suppose that this is what we gave to Spain; and what the late King of Prussia promised to his subjects, and the present King wanted them still to wait for. But, important as representative councils are, they are not "the be all and the end all" of constitutional rule. When we fall into the mistake of thinking that they are, it is because, with us, the sovereign power resides in the assembled Parliament of the kingdom. Wherever the sovereign power resides—whether in a single supreme head, or in any kind of hereditary council, or in an elective council, or other body of officials, the fundamental and permanent principles and laws on which the administration proceeds are the constitution of the country. Thus, there might be as real a constitution in Russia as in the United States, if the czars could be ensured to act according to fundamental and

recognized laws, to the entire exclusion of self-will. The case implies more or less delegation of authority to other hands—and the body thus charged is a constitutional body; and the instrument by which it is appointed, whether it be a writing, or a ceremony, or a spoken pledge, is, in common parlance, the constitution, while it issues from and is in accordance with the fundamental law of the state. When, therefore, it is proposed to give constitutional government to India, it is no answer (however true it may be in fact) to say that the inhabitants are unfit for representative institutions; nor, again, is it reasonable to insist on representation in India as the first feature of constitutional government. Of a possible constitution for India, it will be time to speak hereafter; our business in this place is with the one-sided view of constitutional government which we are apt to fall into.

We do the same in other instances. The religious case is the most conspicuous—next to the political. Knowing nothing of the multitudinous imagery which occupies the religious imagination of the Hindoo, and having never been trained in the stern monotheism which is the primary truth to the Mohammedan, the impulse of Englishmen is to communicate Christianity, without the loss of an hour, to the greatest possible number of heathens and idolaters. This is not only inevitable, it is a conscientious desire while ignorance prevails as it does; but it is necessarily a one-sided view as long as the other sides remain undisclosed. The topics of missionary enterprise and Government

countenance of different religions will be better treated further on. It is here necessary only to suggest that we can form no trustworthy judgment till we have ascertained how far the minds of the natives are in the condition thought necessary for the reception of Christianity eighteen hundred years ago; or how far it is possible to prepare the minds of one, two, or three generations for the reception of a genuine Christianity; or by what means the primitive paganism of the Hindoos may best be dealt with on the one hand, and the widely dissimilar corruption of Christianity which constitutes Mohammedanism may be best encountered on the other. As long as we are uniformly taking for granted that the various nations of Hindostan are all under the same doom of perdition, amidst their various faiths, for want of one which we can and ought to substitute for them throughout India, we are one-sided in our view of a vital point in the case; and this one-sidedness is not relieved by the view being held in common by the great number of churches and sects among us who agree in scarcely anything else. An agreement of such parties on a single point indicates one of two things:—either that the case is so clear as to admit of no variation of opinion; or that evidence remains behind which all have yet to become acquainted with. The standing controversy between the East India Company and some sections of the religious world, about the existing policy of equal toleration, proves that the first supposition does not apply: the other must, therefore, be the true one. In other words, the English people and their repre-

sentatives are not at present qualified to form a practical judgment on the religious affairs of 150,000,000 of people, whose civilisation is of a far older date than their own. We may and must learn: but, at present, we understand no religious condition but our own; and we are therefore unfit to legislate on the spiritual affairs of the nations of Hindostan.

We are under the same disqualification in regard to a military system—actual or possible. We have our own notions as to the proportion and the nature of the military element in our own case—that of a European commercial nation, living in the nineteenth century, and having therefore passed through the preparatory stages of civilisation: but we have a very imperfect notion, if any, of the case of an Asiatic empire, composed of nations and tribes, mostly agricultural, many predatory, and scarcely any being further concerned with commerce than in the sea or river ports; and not in the nineteenth century of their era, but the fortieth or more, while having as yet passed through a wholly different experience from that of the Western nations. What our British view of the military element in our own nation is worth, in comparison with the general Continental view, is a matter of controversy. If we adhere to it in planning for India, we are one-sided; and what knowledge have we of the combined military and political history of the Asiatic states, which qualifies us for deciding, within a few months, what is to be done with the physical force of India? Do we know the whole history and mystery of the Mysore army in the days of Hyder

and Tippoo? Do we understand the Sikh polity, either past or present? Are we to apply British principles and notions to the Mahrattas? Can we clearly and unanimously explain the case of our own sepoys? If we cannot, is it not clear that we are one-sided in this instance also?

In regard to the commercial case we are, as is natural, the least ignorant of the facts, as we are most enlightened as to the principles. We really are entitled to demand, and legislate for, commercial freedom for the people of India. We are right when we refuse to believe that tens of millions of people will not purchase comforts and pleasures if they can get them; and we may justly claim the office of inducting that great population into a commercial period, of the incidents and character of which they know little and we much. We are qualified for providing the requisites of commerce, in the shape of internal improvements, enlightened methods of taxation, and commercial freedom. But here a limitation occurs from our ignorance or misapprehension of the political relations of Asiatic states. Prepossessed as we are by happy experience with the conceptions of security of life and property, and personal and domestic independence, as the prime objects and blessings of a national polity, we cannot have any sympathy whatever with peoples who prefer other things to these, or who, at best, know so little of these privileges as to be unable to value and slow to seek them. We can have nothing to say to tribes and nations with whom a priestly tradition goes further than the claims of

neighbours or children, and upon whom all appeals on behalf of liberty, justice, peace and comfort are lost in the presence of the heir of an old dynasty, or the prospect of a week of marauding. Though we know more about commerce than any other people, from its fundamental principles to its crowning daring and munificence, we must yet be one-sided in regard to the institution of industry and exchange in India, till we are better informed of the special conditions of industry and exchange (conditions political and historical) of ancient and modern society in Hindostan.

3. *Precipitate Public Opinion.*—If such is indeed our case, how can we sufficiently dread any sudden formation of an imperfect public opinion on the problem before us? The liability of such a misfortune is the last condition of the English case which it will be necessary to specify. If the other conditions are truly stated (and it seems scarcely possible that they should be denied), we are by no means entitled at present even to offer a decided opinion on how India should henceforth be ruled. But the people of England are not so much as asked whether they have any opinion at all; nor offered the opportunity of seeking representatives whom they might entrust to deal with any measure brought forward by Government for the disposal of India in the future.

They are suddenly called on to support a measure of vital and most critical importance; a proposal to abolish the organization by which India has hitherto been managed, and to substitute something, not only untried, but which nobody is qualified to form an

opinion about, except the Company to be deposed in its favour. The hope on the part of the rash proposers of this fatal movement no doubt is, that the calamity of the year will dispose every man to wish that something should be done, and to fancy that he, in virtue of his emotions, can help to do it. The hope of a rash Minister no doubt is, that between the faults of the old Government and the promises of the new, with the national ignorance as a convenient basis for showy projects, he shall make himself the most popular Minister of the age. It might tempt any ambitious man,—the opportunity which now seems to occur for connecting in future history the amelioration of India with the great calamity that has happened there; the opportunity of effacing the remembrance of his own scepticism and levity on the breaking out of the mutiny by regenerating the whole dependency. But no personal aims of the Minister, no patriotic aspirations of his which he cannot justify by fact and philosophy, should be allowed to create an unfavourable condition for a case of such magnitude: and of all unfavourable conditions none can be conceived so disastrous as that of precipitate formation of an imperfect and overbearing public opinion. This, however, is precisely the peril which now most closely impends. It may be escaped by simply taking time. If our constituencies and their representatives will but consider and avow their own imperfection of knowledge, and refuse to settle the destinies of India till they understand the case better, all may yet be well on all hands. If we proceed to abolish the

Council which knows more about India than the whole nation besides, and to legislate on the basis of national prejudice, in a season of passion, we shall lose India, and shall be answerable for remanding the most hopeful of Eastern empires back to a condition in which another Tartar conqueror may be a blessing to her, and all the intervening ages of progress be hidden out of historical view, as the reigns of the Shepherd Kings are dropped out of the annals of Egypt. Is such to be indeed our place in Asiatic history? The next few months will go far to decide.

### Effect of England on India.

Taking into one view the conditions of all the parties concerned, what has been the result on the mind and life of India of the connection with England?

The inhabitants never were a people; and they have not become so under our rule. They never lived the recognised life of a nation (at least within the historic period); and the only thing known about them is that the weaker native multitude was overpowered by the stronger Mussulman tribe, who came down upon them as conquerors, and live among them now in a dominating sort of way, though we are apt to suppose the whole population to be levelled by our supremacy. The Mohammedans (hereditary and converts together) are only one-eighth—some authorities say not more than one-tenth—of the population; yet they are the most prominent and the most active element. What has been the effect of English rule upon them? It comes out now, that for above a

century prayers have been daily offered in the mosque at Delhi for our overthrow and the restoration of the Mogul dominion. The fact ought not to surprise us. The strict monotheism of the Mohammedans is, in their belief, destined to supersede Christianity. LUTFULLAH says of us: "They had made three Gods for themselves, instead of one, the only omnipotent supreme Being—contrary to their first commandment; and, most absurd of all, they attributed to the Almighty God the having wife and children; and by the same token they called their Prophet and themselves son and children of God."*

Individual Mussulmans might and did attach themselves to individual British superiors; but this tenth or eighth part of the population has always regarded our presence as an intrusion, and anticipated our expulsion or withdrawal sooner or later. It has been far otherwise with the rest of that prodigious multitude. They were always wont to yield to any strong hand that was imposed upon them, whether that of a foreign invader or a native prince; and they are evidently more content under our rule than any other—because we have saved them from other conquerors, and have made their lives easier than they ever were before. Faulty and mistaken as our own rule has been in many particulars, from our own unfavourable conditions, it has been thoroughly well intended; and that is a virtue which never fails to be appreciated. We have, therefore, a reputation for *justice* in India, which has done more for the elevation of the people than

* Autobiography of Lutfullah, p. 35.

any amount of express measures for the purpose could otherwise have effected. Protected from invaders and marauders, and enjoying a higher degree of security of life and property than ever before, the people have betaken themselves to industry more and more; they apply more wisely for justice than of old, and expect to obtain it. They have never been troubled by us about their religion, and the social morals and manners which are so largely implicated with it. They are horribly afraid of the British, generally speaking; and "fear hath torment" always and everywhere: but they would have had more of this torment to suffer in our absence, whether they know it or not. If tradition preserves with any fidelity the life of their forefathers, they must be aware of their own comparative happiness: but it seems to be thought by those who understand them best, that they have not much power of imagining things otherwise than as they are: and that their actual grievances are not lightened by any comparison with those of former generations. However this may be, the evidence is now overwhelming that the great body of the people are disinclined to throw off our rule. Some have shown within a few months an active reluctance to part with us; and almost all the rest, a quiet readiness to pay their rents, and obey our laws, and take for granted that things will go on as before when the present disturbance is over. Such evidences are all-important at a period the most critical (independently of the mutiny) which has ever occurred, or, perhaps, ever can occur during our con-

nexion with them; that period, inevitable but formidable, when the practical results of a high civilisation must be introduced into a scene of low social condition. The European railway, telegraph, and other magical arts introduce into India much more than themselves. They introduce an experience subversive of ideas and practices, which would in natural course have taken centuries to dissolve and abolish. A Brahmin broke the microscope long ago. He could thus disguise from himself, and conceal from his neighbours, the vanity of their endeavour to abstain from destroying life and swallowing animal substances. He might persuade himself when the microscope was destroyed, that the animated world he had seen in a drop of water was a dream or a temptation; but when it comes to a railway train moving through a hundred miles of villages, or of a telegraph enabling men on the Indus to talk with men at the mouth of the Ganges, the case is beyond Brahmin management; and we ought to prepare for the hostility of all who live under Brahminical influence. I must refer again, though I have done it more than once before, to the significant fact that, for years past, there has been a controversy in Hindostan Proper, as to how far the accommodation of the rail will lessen the merit of pilgrimage. From year to year the Hindoo notions of virtue and expediency have been more and more shocked and encroached upon by the introduction of our arts among a people who would not otherwise have attained them for centuries to come. They see that there is no chance for their adored immutability,

their revered stagnation, their beloved indolence where the English magic establishes itself. It was a great thing before this year that, instead of throwing off our authority, the people grew more grain as markets were opened, and carried more produce out into the world for sale, as the railway became familiar: and now, if they let us proceed in ameliorating their condition, in spite of Brahminical influence, and the incitement of the mutineers, we may fairly conclude that the field is open to us for a higher and better cultivation than it has yet received.

Never was there a more difficult case—never a more portentous conjunction in human history, than this arbitrary coexistence of the European and Asiatic genius on the same soil. We were only strangers in the country, living there first for self-interest, and next for duty; and never from any sympathy for, or real intercourse with the inhabitants. The operation of our presence on the native mind has been slow in proportion; and, till very recently, it was somewhat dubious in extent, and very precarious in character. We now perceive that, though every people on earth would be best governed by rulers of their own race and faith, if qualified native rulers were procurable, it is better that foreigners should reign than that society should fall to pieces under misrule. We once rescued India from such anarchy; and we must take care that it never recurs. The people have been led up to a point of progress at which they cannot stand still. They have seen not only wars extinguished, but the causes of war uprooted: they have returned

to the industrial life which their remote ancestors seem to have led, but from which the population was scared away before we set foot on their shores: they have now seen that our military strength is as potent as our magical arts: they have learned from us the principles and methods of commerce; they have received from us an induction into a great new province of literature and philosophy; and, finally, they have bound us by the very progress they have made, to improve the connection, to amend our faults, and increase our benefits, till the experiment is fairly tried whether any genuine sympathy can be established between Europeans and Asiatics.

There can be no doubt that the British in India have improved in their conduct, personal and official, at least in proportion to the advancement of the people they ruled. It does not at present appear that the improved sobriety, diligence, disinterestedness, and intelligence of the English officers, civil and military, and the advancing industry, self-respect, and enlargement of the natives have enabled the two parties to understand each other much better than of old; but every indication that the higher order of mind is working upon the lower is an instruction how to proceed, and an encouragement to persevere. It is no less a warning against precipitate action on the ground of English ideas. The work has not gone so far but that it may be broken off any day; and if, because we are in a state of emotion about the mutiny, or because we have a Minister who likes popularity, and

enjoys smart legislation, we abolish any old security, or venture upon any ill-considered change, we shall lose India even yet. It would be, at any moment, so much easier to lose India than to govern it well, that to take time is the manifest and imperative duty of the case.

# PART II.

## THE TASK TO BE DONE.

THESE being the conditions under which the respective parties lie, and such being the relation between the dependency and the superior country, what is, precisely, the work to be done? What is the task now set us—not only by the Minister's appeal to Parliament, but by the actual state of India?

We must go nowhere for a precedent and example. There is naturally a strong tendency in us all to do this. Some go hunting for an analogy in all histories of colonization: some tell us how the Romans managed their barbaric dependencies; and others suppose the best thing we can do is to restore the people of India to "their old princes," "their own institutions," their old anything that they have a mind for. But, in the first place, India is not, and never was, a colony: in the next, the aim of Rome was to incorporate its conquests with itself; and its government was of a nature to admit of such incorporation, which was even an object of desire to the vanquished nations who would have resisted to the death conquest from any other quarter. In our age of the world, and under a constitutional method of government, all analogy is out of the question. There is nothing in our relation even with our colonies at all resembling

the organization and aggregation of the outlying dominions of Rome; and the principles and methods of British government are as inapplicable to India, and as peculiar, as those of Rome were suitable and universal, throughout the empire. Again, the Hindoos, and all other natives of India, except the Mohammedans, prefer the existing rule to any change. There are no symptoms of hankering after old princes or ancient institutions. They keep their faith, and their notions and their customs; and they never had any political institutions apart from their religions. There is nothing to revert to, therefore, as precedent or warrant; and the only help we can get from the past is a warning.

We have seen what made the people wretched of old. We must save them from lapsing into any such barbarism as we have lifted them out of. We must, moreover, carry them on towards a higher condition, with the smallest possible disturbance of their ordinary ideas and habits. We must bear in mind the many instances of insanity and death which have occurred among natives of Asia and Africa, when introduced too rapidly to new and surprising European objects and ideas. We must make the largest allowance for the excitable nature of the Asiatic, kept quiet as it has hitherto been by the antiquity of his notions and habits. If we make haste to "Europeanize" our fellow-subjects in India, we shall make them mad. We have just seen what the madness of fanaticism is like in a mere army. It is a spectacle which may well warn us not to make changes which

may imperil the sanity of whole nations. The unavoidable danger which will attend any transfer of authority, or any alteration in the external aspect or method of rule, is the excitement which will pervade the prodigious masses of the population. The news that "John Company" is dead would be enough to cost us our empire; and there is no other manifest change which may not bring down a hurricane of popular frenzy upon us, if it be not conducted with extreme quietness and discretion. And here we meet the difficulty caused by our own general ignorance and past indifference. The whole tendency of the management of Indian affairs has been to prevent the British public knowing or caring anything about India. The consequence is that we have no other choice than between hasty legislation and a stormy and protracted controversy; the one being about as formidable as the other in the actual case. If India had been extensively settled by Europeans, or public works had been carried on with promptitude and vigour, or inquiry into the administration of India had been encouraged, we should have been in better condition than we are for the great task before us. As it is not so, we must the more carefully consider what has to be done, and how we may best do it.

## Political Objects.

How far may the advantages of constitutional government be afforded to India,—representative institutions being, by common agreement, entirely out of

the question? Excluding these, what is there which could be given to India without a perilous change in the existing management.

1. *Conception of a Fundamental Law.*—There is the foundation itself of constitutional government; a recognised fundamental law, from which all other law, and all rules of social life, are derived.

It is needless to explain that the people of India know nothing about such a basis. The bulk of them are destitute of any ideas at all about government, beyond the comparative greatness, wisdom, and goodness of different rulers. Their politics came down from an unknown antiquity, and were preserved by priestly tradition; and the last thing anybody ever thought of was mending them. The people have seen enough of our way of having laws, and altering them, to be prepared for the notion that the law is higher than the Council and the Governor-General themselves; and that they have all an interest in this great authority, which is at once a protection and a restraint to all who live under it. Judging by the sensation excited when Lord Cornwallis's settlement was promulgated, and the people found that the collectors were made subject to laws which were popularly explained and understood, it seems indubitable that the idea of a sacred basis of law and government, independent of individual caprice, is one which could be easily and safely communicated to everybody in India. As to where the sovereign power resides which makes the constitution,—that knowledge will naturally come in time, by way of the

schools and colleges, if not by more speedy methods. To instruct the natives in the respective powers and capacities of the Crown, the Company, and Parliament, can hardly be proposed so long as their Anglo-Indian neighbours, and the people of England generally, remain uninformed on the subject. Once imbued with the conception of law as excluding caprice in the ruling function, the people will have made, and, indeed, have already made, the first great step towards a higher and happier political state.

2. *A Body of Laws.*—The next step is, naturally, to learn how it is that particular laws can be created or altered, while the great fact of a fundamental law remains immutable. The people understand this now, to a considerable extent. In Cornwallis's time, as we have seen, they witnessed a great change. So long before as Warren Hastings' time, they had witnessed plenty of change; but then, there was no constitution behind it to fall back upon. First, every Englishman was master of all natives who crossed his path: next, everything the English chose was done by warrants extorted from the native princes; after that, there were open conflicts of authority between the Governor-General and the Council at Calcutta, which had not much the look of any constitutional basis; and after that, again, there were conflicts, known only by their results, between the invisible Company and the visible officials (especially at Madras), leading to frequent changes of persons and policy; and finally, the laws which most concerned the people at large were translated

into language which they could understand, and accompanied by alterations in the customs of the country, well intended, but working so doubtfully and painfully as to afford a solemn warning to us now to make our arbitrary changes as few and easy as possible. There was sufficient error in the formation of new laws, and sufficient corruption in the early administration of them, to preclude a due reverence for law on the part of the people: but the great improvement that has taken place in the qualifications and the moral character of our officials, and the constant evidence which rises up before the people's eyes, that advancing knowlege and new arts require fresh or amended laws, may now be trusted, perhaps, to give them in time a practical notion how new and varying laws may proceed from a steadfast constitution. All this may look rather refined and abstract for Hindoos and Mussulmans; but it is in the highest degree essential, simple, and practical. For instance, society is in one stage when people of all ranks will struggle into the presence of official men with bribes in their hands, persuaded that the great man's will is the sole authority under which they are living: and society is in another stage when the same people are aware that their acts are brought to the test of immutable rules and decisions which wrought before these officials were born, and will work after they are dead. Society is in one stage when the people have no idea whatever of rights, or of any stability or security whatever, so that any potentate may take their lives, liberty, and property,

leaving no ground even for complaint: and it is in quite a different stage when the same people are aware that there is something which rules rulers, and makes every man the owner of his own life, and liberty, and property, in a general way. The question then is only of particular rules or laws which may be created, or altered according to circumstances, but which steadily assume and respect the fundamental rights secured by the constitution. The people of India have long been learning something of this from us. To learn enough for purposes of loyalty and peace they must live under laws which their rulers are but ill qualified to construct.

It is not to be supposed that any parliamentary committee that can be appointed will consider itself competent to legislate immediately for Hindoos and Mohammedans, with their antique and mediæval customs and associations, and their inaccessible structure of mind. Such legislation, doubtfully practicable at best, must come, as the only feasible government has come till now, through the brains of Anglo-Indians who lose sympathy with Parliament just in proportion as they succeed in legislating for the people around them. Parliament should take a hint from this fact when called on to legislate for India off-hand. If the existing body of operative laws in India are working well, there is no reason for haste in the consideration of them: if ill, Parliament is not qualified to improve them on the instant, nor to point out who can do it to better purpose than the authors and improvers of those laws.

3. *Individual Stake in Laws.*—It is of the highest importance that every native should understand that he has a personal interest in the law: that his rights are secured by this and this alone; and that therefore it is wise to support the law generally, and the European Government which established it. The old Hindoo organization prepared the native mind for this; and there seems to have been little difficulty in convincing them that the laws ought to be upheld. Sir James Mackintosh was of opinion that the Punchayet, or arbitration courts, saved society from dissolution before the British arrived; and Sir Thomas Munro, dreading the consequences of change, retained the Punchayet as an essential provision of the common law of India in civil matters. But the superiority of the courts introduced by the British, even when administered by native judges only, was presently admitted. They saved time and money; and we must suppose they awarded justice with more or less accuracy, as in three years, the Punchayet was confined to those localities where the strange and awful sight of a white face had never been seen. This looks as if the people were apt in apprehending the character and value of laws; and as if they were therefore qualified to understand and prize the blessing of having individually a stake in the polity, —such as our *Habeas corpus*, and a good many more acts give to every Englishman.

4. *Independence of the Judiciary.*—It is doubtful whether an equal intelligence prevails as to the distinction between making and administering the laws.

Not only do the natives still imagine that magistrates may be bribed, but they suppose that, as laws may be altered, the administration of them may alter also. They saw too long the collectors, (the "youths" so reprobated by the East India Directors in 1773) declaring one thing to be law one day, and another the next; and sitting in judgment on their own acts; and employing the police for their own purposes. They saw for too short a time the subjection of the collectors themselves to the courts, under Lord Cornwallis's scheme; and only too soon they witnessed a falling back from this when, as the collectors could not levy the revenue, they were made magistrates, and given the control of the police. Nothing has occurred since to enlighten them on this great subject up to the point necessary for entrusting them with such a method as jury trial, for instance. All who know their minds and ways declare that they will require a considerable training in the conception of the independence of judges and juries before the function of a jury can be at all understood by them. Considering this, and the admitted faults and failures in the courts under every method that has yet been tried; and the complications which must arise as more and more English merchants and planters and other settlers flow into the country, we must perceive that in no direction will it be more difficult than in this to introduce the native population to the benefits of constitutional government. Unless there is something like equality of access to an equal law in every region in India, it will be impossible to establish in

the native mind any faith in the impartiality of law, the independence of judges, and the security afforded by juries: and how such equality can be provided for in a society so unique in its diversities, Parliament will hardly desire to pronounce in a hurry. Lord Metcalfe, who knew at least as much as any entire Parliament we are likely to get, said, "All our subjects, European Christian, native Christian, Hindoo, Mohammedan, foreigners, &c., ought to be under one code of laws in whatever concerns them in common, returning to their own in whatever is peculiar to each sect." He was also of opinion that everywhere such courts should exist as would afford satisfaction to both European and native residents. A prodigious and multifarious work, requiring a world of consideration, if the country is to be thrown open to European settlement, which it certainly will be sooner or later.

It is to these points of the native training that we must look in providing for the continuance of our empire in India. Lord Metcalfe continually repeated the warning that our power was precarious to the last degree, because it rested on *impression*. Before the close of his own career, he saw the change which he noted in the words "We have ceased to be the wonder that we were to the natives: the charm which once encompassed us has been dissolved, and our subjects have had time to inquire why they have been subdued." Again: "Our greatest danger is not from a Russian invasion, but from the fading of the impression of our invincibility from the minds of the native

inhabitants of India."* The best resource he declared to be, not any increase of force, even if a sufficient increase were possible: but doing such good to the governed as must "neutralise their disaffection," and thus defer the expulsion which he believed must happen sooner or later. Place beside this testimony of our best qualified Anglo-Indian that of a native, as well qualified as can easily be found; and it will be plain in what direction we may hope to do most good to the governed. LUTFULLAH, in recording the native opinion of the British at the beginning of the present century, says,† "Many other things were said against them, and only one in their favour—that they were not unjust; but, in the administration of justice, they never deviated from the sacred book of the ancient law of Solomon, the son of David." If this was anything like the "impression," so important in Lord Metcalfe's view, we are likely to keep up our prestige for wisdom and power by our "magical arts" of lighting Calcutta by "lamps without wicks," and by the telegraph, and other such necromancy: but, for our good name in morals, we had better follow the lead of native opinion, and sustain and improve our reputation for "justice" in the administration of the law, which will be appreciated in proportion as the natives rise into a proved capacity for constitutional government.

5. *Scope and Liberty of Opinion.*—After Law comes Opinion. Next to equality under the law and

* Papers and Correspondence of Lord Metcalfe, p. 163.

† The Autobiography of Lutfullah, p. 35.

its administration, we must convince the governed of their rights of opinion, and thus make constitutional subjects of them in the shortest way, and safe neighbours in the surest.

*The Press.* — It must be remembered that the establishment of British rule extinguished the old means of discussion and the old councils. The durbar was superseded; and there was nothing to replace it. The reasons which decide the universal judgment against giving representative institutions to the natives, are the same as those which plead for entire liberty of thought and speech for all classes alike. The natives have plenty to say on public affairs. No movement of our officials takes place without its being presently the talk of the bazaars in every town in India; and comment seems to accompany news as invariably as the moral makes the tailpiece to Æsop's fables in our school-books. If the public opinion which exists is ignorant, it is highly necessary for the Europeans to be aware of it, in order to gain an insight into the native mind; and it is no less necessary for the natives to be able to express it freely, that absurd notions may be exploded, and a common stock made of such wisdom as there is. Almost anywhere else, there might be hope of a sound growth of public opinion from the germ of village life and administration; but the hereditary character of municipal office throughout Hindostan nearly precludes all hope of that social improvement, through the consultation of neighbours, which is the best ground of a genuine public opinion. From the time when laws were given

them in their own language, there was something for them to discuss; and it was a great lift in their progress. The more topics of general interest we furnish them with, the larger will be the growth of opinion, and the more necessary it must be to afford entire liberty to its expression. In this method of training alone lies any hope whatever of the people becoming fit for eventual participation in public affairs, and for any sort of present understanding between them and the dominant race.

At the same time it is necessary to admit the difficulties that have always beset, and that do still beset, the question of the freedom of the press in India. If, in Warren Hastings' days, the English press in Calcutta was thoroughly infamous, from its being devoted to mischievous and scandalous gossip, and to exasperating the disputes of the most quarrelsome society on record, what can be expected from the native press, while its writers and readers have no public questions to interest them, and are occupied, not only with their own gossip, like the contemporaries of Hastings, but with the much richer amount afforded by the dominant class, whom they neither understand nor love. Add to this, that the native news-writers and readers are well aware that the English will never know what is thus said of them; and we may conceive what the native newspaper press may be, and probably is. The native tongue is not very strictly restrained by truth, nor the native imagination by decency, under the best circumstances; and in this case the temper of the conquered has to

express itself, however true it may be that the Hindoo multitude at least would not exchange our rule for that of any other potentate. It is no wonder, therefore, if the native newspapers are, what we are assured they are, full of offensive comment on every act of their European neighbours. When we remember the offensiveness, to them, of the European dinners, where ham, beef, and wine are eaten and drunk, where the gentlemen wear a dress which is indecent in native eyes, and ladies are present, dining and dancing in a manner which Indian tradition and custom brand as profligacy, we cannot wonder at the tone and temper of the "fashionable intelligence" department of their papers. If, judging by LUTFULLAH'S amazement at being civilly treated in England, we must credit something of the prevalent impression that the natives are wont to be insultingly spoken to by saucy Europeans, we may imagine the *gusto* with which they avail themselves of their opportunity of returning the contumely in their own field of literature, where no British eye will follow them. All this makes up one great difficulty; but there is another, arising out of the hostility, created by a bad policy, between the two classes of British on the spot. The European settlers in the country, a very small class, have a natural proclivity to hate the Government, and especially the Company's part of it. The railing accusations of the European enemies of the Government are at times almost as offensive in tone as the native slanders; and how the natives relish the reports they hear of them may be easily conceived. Now, there is really no

small difficulty in deciding, in such a case, what it is best to do. The effect on the native mind of the Government being perpetually held up to reprobation and contempt by Englishmen, must be admitted to be a formidable consideration. However clear it may be in the long run, that liberty of the press is best after all, it should be kept in view that the question is wholly unlike that of liberty of the press in France, or Austria, or Italy, or any country which is not a tributary empire, inhabited by one race and ruled by another.

This admitted, any conclusion in favour of freedom of utterance must have such weight as will preclude its overthrow; whereas, if the liberty were granted as a concession to an ignorant demand for the same thing under all manner of circumstances, there would be a strong probability of the reversal of the policy, after the difference between the European and the Asiatic cases began to be discovered. Time and testimony, then, seem to indicate that, great as are the difficulties all round, a free press is a smaller evil than a restricted one.

As the Government of India improved, the tone of the Anglo-Indian newspapers improved. An open policy afforded good topics, and scandal receded before politics. Thus it was in Lord Cornwallis's time. When the French were working against us in India among the native States of indigenous rulers, the conditions of the case were so far changed, that Marquis Wellesley thought it necessary to control the press, employed as it was, not only in discrediting the

Government, but in making dangerous, if not treacherous, disclosures to vigilant French eyes and ears. The dread of the newspapers did not die away with the occasion, but increased by indulgence, till Lord Moira found it in a condition worthy only of Paris or Milan at the present time. He slackened the bonds at once; and forty years ago the censorship at Calcutta was little more than nominal. While the old members of the Council were aghast at the criticisms of Government acts, Lord Moira refused to check them, took lessons from some of them, and let pass those which he despised. When he came home, Mr. Adam, who temporarily filled his place, set to work to repair the mischief done, as he believed, to the dignity and efficiency of Government; and he inflicted that deportation upon Mr. Buckingham which erected him into a man with a grievance for the rest of his days. A native editor was as fiercely put down, by laws which left the press a mere name. Lord Amherst let it alone during the latter part of his rule; and Lord William Bentinck not only abstained from applying the press laws, but declared that he had learned more from the newspapers than from all other sources whatever; and it should be remembered, in connection with this declaration, that the enemies he made by his reforms were the most eager and active contributors that the editors could boast of. On the only occasion on which he ever proposed to curb the press, he was remonstrated with by Charles Metcalfe, in the well-known letter on the liberty of the press which appears in his Life (vol. ii. p. 254), and as soon as Lord

William Bentinck sailed for Europe, an appeal was made to Charles Metcalfe, and responded to by him, in the form of a complete emancipation of the press from the restraints of late years, no conditions being imposed but such as made printers and publishers of periodical publications responsible, as known parties, for the works they issued. In reply to the enthusiastic thanksgivings of the Calcutta public, native and foreign, he stated reasons for believing that liberty of speech is the best policy; reasons which may serve us now, or at any time, as well as they served him then. After such a testimony from so experienced a man, the question should have been regarded as settled for ever.

The first consideration was duty to the people, whom it is our business to enlighten, and not to keep in the dark. Next, there was every reason to hope that the Government and the people might like one another the better, the more they became acquainted. Again, the press was the grand safety-valve, among a people who had no other public means of expression. Once more; the press naturally acted as superintendent and critic, or even informer, over the entire range of Government operations. Every oppressor, or slothful or incompetent public servant, was sure to be informed against, however remote his district might be; and such criticism was the most important aid Government could receive. False accusations could be immediately confuted, while true ones saved a world of abuses. Finally, a crop of suggestions was for ever springing up from that free soil, enlarging

the views, and fertilising the minds, of the Government corps; so that a distinct period of improved Government dated from the emancipation of the Indian press, though there was a settled purpose at home to reverse the measure. The 15th of September, 1835, is called the birth-day of liberty of the press in India: but the next year would have put the fetters on again, if Lord Auckland had not gone out, and seen at the critical moment that the most liberal policy was the wisest. Some of the highest authorities say that these reasons are as applicable now in the case of India as they were when they were set forth by the Bentincks and Metcalfes of quieter times: and, to plain Englishmen, it appears that there never was a period when it could be so perilous to close any safety-valve, or to cut off from Government precisely that information which cannot be obtained through its own servants. However this may be, we cannot govern India in the future without supplying to the unrepresented of all races the means of forming and strengthening a public opinion. No perils of a press can be so great as having (practically) none: and those who most dread evil-speaking, falseness, and foulness on the part of the native press, and mischief to Government from censure, ought to be aware that the only appropriate remedy is, on the one hand, elevating, not suppressing, the tone of newspaper criticism, by fostering the education of the natives; and, on the other, welcoming on the part of Government, all honest and useful strictures—simply despising such as are false or merely malicious. No

one can say that such a method is impracticable. Bentinck and Metcalfe practised what they preached; and any who come after them can bear what they bore. Moreover, no man or body of men can be fit to rule India who do not see, after the events of 1857, that if we are to keep our empire, we must come to such an understanding with the people as cannot be had by any other means than a free press. Nothing that can be told could have created the mutiny, but only something that is even yet untold. The only wise policy is to turn the balance, and reduce the proportion of the untold to the told by every possible means: and the very best yet devised is a free press.

6. *Religious Liberty.*—Among the indispensable liberties to be secured to the people of India is liberty of religion. This seems so obvious that one would hardly think of doing more than setting it down in its place but for the cry which it is attempted to raise for "Christianizing India." It is really mournful that Englishmen should give themselves over to a sectional cry, without learning what it means and what it proposes. In this case the zealots go into the enterprise as they would go (and often have gone) into a scheme for converting Patagonian savages, or Australian aborigines, or red Indians. There is but little result from even that kind of enterprise, where a rude fetishism only has to be supplanted, or a total void filled: but when we see our zealots proceeding, without any distinction in the cases, to convert the Jews in Palestine, and all sorts of believers in India, without any special preparation on their own part, or

any idea of a fair encounter with their anticipated converts, we must plead for the credit of our country in regard to good sense and common liberality. Is it impossible to induce our countrymen to consider that in India we find ancient religious systems, not only venerable in the eyes of their professors, but exclusively so?—far more so than any religion can be which is not a theocracy, because it is implicated with all the transactions of life. The levity with which the devotedness of Hindoos and Mohammedans to their religion is treated by many Christians on the spot, and more at home, is astounding. We call their constancy, as well as their bigotry, by all the bad names we can apply; and then we propose to make Christians of them, without more or less counting the cost of the attempt. There are probably few who contemplate any direct coercion, in comparison with those who take for granted that the natives can be convinced of their own errors: but the proposals of neither party should be attended to till they have proved that they understand the difficulties of the case. There can be no fear of the nation sanctioning any scheme of religious coercion: but it is much to be apprehended that the wisdom of the East India Company in carefully guarding liberty of conscience is far from being generally appreciated. How many among us are aware of the extent in which the mind of the Hindoo is pervaded by the ideas of his religion, so that to make him a Christian requires nothing less than the dissolving of all his associations, and the reconstitution of his mental structure? There is

nothing in any modern faith at all like the fundamental character of the primitive religions which absorbed the whole of human life into themselves. And as for Mohammedanism,—how has any propagandism ever succeeded against its own? How can the unintelligible fanaticism of the Prophet's followers be dealt with by Christians who go out with no other idea than pitying and saving the Mussulman? In India, there are, according to the testimony of the most scholarly Englishmen who have been there, men of profound and extensive learning, with whom few Europeans are qualified to converse within the range of philosophy, history, and antiquities, and even science: yet our zealots propose to make Christians of such an order of men, just as we resolve to make respectable shoe-blacks of boys from the Ragged Schools—as a philanthropic enterprise, the issue of which is at their own command. The assumption is much the same as in the case of the missionary who proposed to preach to the Mussulman subjects of Rajah Brooke. After debating among themselves the point of hearing him or not, the sensible fellows made two proposals:—one, that the Englishman should postpone his service till he understood their language well enough to be secure against blunders on subjects so solemn: and another, that he should, in return, listen to what their doctors had to say. The wrath of the missionary was great at the suggestion that he had anything to learn from people whom he came to teach and save. Too much like this is the tone we encounter on all hands, except among

the best informed Anglo-Indians, when the religious concerns of India are spoken of: and in forming a plan of future rule, it will be necessary to exercise the most vigilant care, if the liberties of the human conscience are to be respected in future as they have been in the past.

The plain rule of the case has been fairly exemplified in the Company's policy;—the rule that every man shall have liberty, under the sole restriction of his liberty not trenching on that of his neighbour. Every man's civil rights must be absolutely unaffected by his religious profession. By such impartiality only can a European minority govern a vast Pagan and Mohammedan majority. No one now seems to advocate the early practice of countenancing popular superstitions by affording Government aid, as in the Juggernaut rites, or by permitting murder, under the name of the Suttee. Wherever social wrong is done, it must be stopped, whether it pleads a religious sanction or not. If caste interferes with duty, either the function or the caste-consideration must be given up, because they are incompatible: in the same way that proselyting officers must either give up their military function or converting the natives, as the latter business is irreconcileable with professional fidelity in the service of the Company. Social security and equal justice being provided for, and no man allowed to sacrifice his neighbour to his own persuasions, the most entire liberty of opinion and its profession ought to be guaranteed, and must be the principle of our policy, if we mean to retain as our fellow-subjects

these tens of millions of so many faiths. Provision will, in any case, be made for Christian worship and instruction for the Europeans in India, and for any accessions which may accrue: and Christian teachers will, of course, have the same liberty of teaching and preaching that those of any other faith will have:—liberty bounded only by the claims of the public peace. It will, no doubt, be determined that missionaries of any denomination shall be subject to some test of their qualifications, before entering upon their labours in so new a field. The churches will probably look to this: but, whether they do or not, the State must, if past experience is of any value to us. After the Vellore mutiny, and the facts it brought out, of the unfitness of some of the missionaries to address the native mind and heart, it will be the fault of the State if men who know no more of the Hindoo and Mussulman mind than of the language of birds, are permitted to excite either ridicule or passion among native hearers. Now that we have a Livingstone among us, we shall be inexcusable to allow the most primitive races to be attacked, under the countenance of the State, by any other method than that of civilization, which Livingstone declares and shows to be the only effectual and safe road to the object: and, in the far more difficult case of ancient nations, who were socially organized while our ancestors were barbarians, there is really no chance of getting on at all but by the principle of unrestricted liberty of conscience.

We have to deal, in the Hindoo case, with a

paganism so antique that its members are incalculably remote from the state of progress attained by the Hebrews and other first recipients of the Christian dispensation; and, in the Mohammedan case, with a *régime* more modern than Christianity, prevailing far more extensively, and naturally believed by its members to be a great advance upon it. It is inconceivable that the small intermediate sect—the Christians in India—should overbear either of the others with any success; and the attempt would doubtless cause our expulsion. The natural and hopeful way is the same in Asia and in Africa—to recommend the higher faith by its fruits, on the one hand, and, on the other, to prepare the native mind for its reception by establishing those modes of life and habits of thought and feeling which are its necessary antecedents. Thus, the Christians in Hindostan must have the amplest means of worship and instruction provided by a Christian mother-country: and the native professors must be free to hold, practise, and avow their respective faiths, without let, hindrance, or molestation. If any of the parties should desire to encroach on the liberty of any other, such encroachment must be prevented. The conditions will seem hard to the two most modern sects, while the old pagans no more desire to make converts than the Jews: but all must come under the same rule—of liberty without license—in this fundamental matter, if the peace of society is to be preserved. Equal civil rights, amidst all diversities in religion, must be the principle of the case; and it includes the necessity of all state func-

tionaries, civil and military, abstaining from interference with any man's religious persuasion.

7. *Scope and Liberty of Industry.*—There must, again, be impartial liberty of action in industrial enterprises and affairs, and in all the lawful activities of life. Under the old despotisms, men traded by stealth, or at least hid their gains; and, as a general rule, they concealed all that was possible of their doings and movements. Under the early British, every native was the slave of every foreigner he came in the way of. The case has steadily improved; but the monopoly doctrines of the East India Company suppressed the activities of the inhabitants for a long period, and allowed only a very slow development at last. Free trade has done as much already as could be anticipated, under the peculiar circumstances: but we have yet to provide for the new phase—the free colonization of India. The risks introduced by that free colonization (risks inferior only to those of interdicting it) must be met by allowing to the natives the freest participation in our enterprises, or liberty for their own. The only way to reconcile their superstition to our material inventions is to allow them to regard them as matters of business. The only way to render our presence acceptable is to make it the means of welfare to them. In that view, they desire and adhere to our rule at present, aware how much worse off they would be under any native princes: but, if we further desire to make them good fellow-subjects, we must secure to them perfect liberty of industrial action. Our own national interest de-

mands this, for the development of India requires all the resources that can be mustered: and when once we see a sufficient number of native capitalists aiding the railways and internal navigation, and native landholders irrigating and otherwise improving, and native merchants trading without dread of imposts or peculiar visitation of any kind, our footing there will be more secure than any amount of military force could ever make it.

These considerations lead us on to the two remaining constitutional advantages which may be enjoyed, short of a representative system.

8. *Civil State of Society.* — Recent events have shown us the consequences of adopting an old-world *régime* of a military quality in India. It seemed the necessary mode while we were reluctantly, and, as it were, by a fatality, acquiring our territories by wars which nobody entered into willingly. To meet the necessity of the case, the Government of India organized its new subjects into the means of acquiring more dominion. It seemed to be the fit and natural use to make of men reared as our sepoys were, and ruled as they then must be. The method answered while military employment was abundant and pressing. When there was no more conquest on hand, and the soldiers were turned back upon themselves, they broke out against their commanders and the whole English race. Our lesson ought to be easily read. Some say, most people say—that we can henceforth hold India only by military force; and that, as this cannot be done by British soldiers only, we must work the native

tribes against each other. We must, we are assured, revert more decisively than ever to a military policy.

Is it so? Must we retrogress in our Asiatic while we advance in our European policy? Cannot a military control of turbulent elements of society be effected without exchanging the commercial for the worn-out military habit of society? The rebels of the present insurrection, we must remember, constitute only the fifteen-hundredth part of the population of our fellow-subjects in India. Is this a proportion which should change the principle and method of society in a rising empire? It seems more probable that we should reconcile our difficulties by the development of the peaceful arts, and by an equal distribution of commercial facilities and benefits, than by any military system which Englishmen could make up their minds to institute and uphold. If we could now have what we should like best, would it not be a territory put in the way of progressive development, with good internal navigation, railways, advancing agriculture, and expanding commerce; the restless element engrossed in industrial activity, and the apathetic roused to it; while thebarbaric hill tribes, irreclaimable from war (if there are any such), should be kept well in hand as the defenders of the whole polity from external aggressions? Is such a scheme really and totally impracticable? We ought to be very sure that it is, before we consign our Indian empire to the old military methods, which we are not likely to revive successfully in this late century. We must remember that the sepoys did not peremptorily devote themselves to a

military life. It was we who gave them the destination: and when we consider how many of them are drawn from Oude alone, and what large areas have yielded very few soldiers, we may have hope that it will not be necessary to step back into a bygone age for a pattern of a Government which will suit our Asiatic dependency.

The native States ought, in fact, to be our warning against that barbaric mode of life. There, as in Europe in the Middle Ages, every man who can arm any followers does so, and makes war wherever he pleases, the armed men of the community being responsible only to their own chiefs, and not to the sovereign; so that all protection to peaceful industry is out of the question. British rule long ago raised its subjects out of this stage into the higher one, in which the soldiery are in immediate connection with the State. The late revolt will probably lead on our Indian fellow-subjects another step. The whole country is covered with forts, the native princes counting their strongholds by hundreds. Our best method will probably be to keep up, in entire efficiency, a considerable fortress in every central position, and as many more as may be necessary for the protection of the people near the frontier lines of native rulers: and to make the defence of the country so distinctly a special business of Government, and the function of a professional soldiery, that no excuse for military action shall be left for anybody else. The time may come when the general population may be allowed to carry arms; but within a year of the breaking out of the

mutiny it is not likely that anybody will advocate such a license, unless it be where the population is scattered and thin in rural districts where there is danger from wild beasts. The peculiarity of the case suggests the necessity of a military police, the choice and organization of which will be one of the most difficult tasks remaining to be achieved.

Another difficulty will be drawing the line between the classes who may and those who may not be permitted to carry arms. European settlers must have entire freedom to do so, one would think, provided they were registered, or in some way rendered responsible for the use of weapons, in districts where the public opinion and the ready police and law of towns are not present to impose the check which all men need. The social condition of the Southern States of the American Union, where men of our own kindred live in the presence of a dark-skinned race, is a sufficient warning to all Europeans. The practice of carrying arms not only makes men tyrannous to the unarmed negroes, but quarrelsome to the last intensity among themselves. I have myself passed from town to town, from plantation to plantation, from State to State, finding the highway of life strewn with victims from the murderous tone of mind and cruel code of honour, which had grown into a sort of insanity in the stage of society in which citizens carry arms. That was above twenty years ago, and the evil has increased so fearfully of late years that a slave-holding clergy preach on the commandment not to kill, and hold up from the pulpit the statistics of murder in their States

in contrast with their countrymen of the free States, and with every other civilized society. There is only a distant resemblance between the case of slaveowners and that of British settlers in India, it is true; but in the one point, of the few being of a superior race and culture to the many, there is a sufficient analogy to suggest extreme care in determining the question of an armed, or an unarmed, or a partially armed population. It is not a question to be argued at length in this place, where the object is merely to show, among the constitutional advantages which India may enjoy, that of a definite establishment in a civic state of society, the military function being only for defence, and altogether the affair of the State. This has always been the theory, and long the practice, of the Indian Government. The care demanded now is to see that the policy is more conspicuously recognised and carried out than ever, instead of being reversed on account of the calamities of last year. It is true, those calamities place before us a clear alternative: and if we do not resolve on a strenuous working of a pacific and industrial polity, we must embrace the other alternative of a thorough-going military system. Till we have tried and failed, we have no right to doubt that the ordinary effects will follow from the opening of the productive resources of the country, the encouragement of industry, and the security of property. Nothing that has happened throws any doubt into the case in the minds of rational men, however clearly they may see the necessity of cowing rebellion, and putting down violence by the strong hand. But, as

long as we see that there are any among us who rush on from this admission into a notion that India cannot be governed without a falling back into a military system of society, it is necessary to be on our guard against a lapse as shocking and mischievous as the similar retrogression by which Napoleon set back the fortunes of the European nations for centuries.

9. *Equable and Equitable Taxation.*—There is no respect in which the people of India have been more thoroughly excluded from the benefits of constitutional government than in that of TAXATION. To be equably and equitably taxed, it is not necessary that the accounts of the country should be submitted to the people, as is done under a representative system. They have never been, more or less, the constituents of government, nor otherwise concerned in the taxes than as having to pay them. They have never known what the money was for, or where it went, or why they had to pay so much as precluded all hope of rising in life. They must inevitably suppose that, as in the case of all neighbouring States, the great men lived upon the little ones; and that there was no hope of any time when the many poor would not be hard pressed to pamper the few rich. Surely this notion might be obliterated, and some constitutional ideas introduced, by a renovation of the system of taxation, according to the improved knowledge and enlightened views of our own time. Under this head, we are concerned only with the political, and not the social, aspect of the taxation question; and all that need be said at the moment is that much

may be done towards educating a backward people, and attaching a disaffected one, by so varying the character of taxes, and apportioning their levy, as to show what objects they are intended to answer, and for whose benefit, in the long run, they are designed. As Sir Charles Metcalfe observed, a quarter of a century ago, such a sacrifice of revenue was, perhaps, never made by any Government as by the Bengal Government in 1793, in the permanent settlement of the land revenue. But it did no good, he adds, in regard to the minds and fortunes of the people at large. It merely paid over the proceeds into the hands of "individuals who had no title to it, without any beneficial effect on the public interests, as far as is perceptible to common observation."* No doubt, the people at large believed, both before and after, that their earnings were taken to enrich some powerful person or class; and it would be news to them, even now, that taxes may be, and ought to be, levied only to pay for the mechanism and security of the social state, so that every contributor purchases, when he pays his tax, something more valuable to him than money can buy in any other form. If the fearful problem of the real incidence and true distribution of the land-tax in India could be so far solved as to permit a re-arrangement, and a considerable reduction by means of new or increased taxation of other kinds, the old associations in the native mind could be dissolved, and fresh views would grow up, inducing more or less of a constitutional habit of

* Papers and Correspondence of Lord Metcalfe, p. 167.

thought. Any noticeable influx of European settlers, and all such developments of industry as must accompany the introduction of new arts of life, will render new methods of taxation necessary. However great may be the extension of agriculture, commerce and the arts of life must increase faster, and the land revenue become more and more unjust by tending to either extremes—by being made to bear the chief burden of the State expenses if left unfixed, and by contributing too little under an improved state of things through being already permanently settled. There was every reason why, before the days of modern political economy, a corporation governing a swarming agricultural population, and hedging them in from intercourse with the world without, should levy their revenue from the land, thinking it enough to be responsible to their constituents for the method and the proceeds. But those times are gone by; and we have to prepare for a wholly new state of society, in which it is probable that the labouring class will relinquish the land more and more to a richer order; and in which fundamental changes will be wrought by the establishment of a vast and growing domestic and foreign commerce. Though land will become far more valuable than ever before, it will be less exclusively so. There will be some other option than the existing one,—between landholding and hoarding silver. Then will be the time for varying the popular notion of what the public revenue is, and communicating some idea of what it is for. Even a population steeped in the prejudices of caste may learn to con-

ceive of salaried office, and of functionaries selected for fitness; and the view of institutions as express arrangements for the general good, to be paid for by a general contribution, will become in time familiar. By that time, though the people may be as blind as ever to the doctrine that representation should be co-equal with taxation (the doctrine which the Company so dreaded their learning from America, if settlers were allowed to enter the country), they will have outgrown their old barbaric idea of taxation, and may thenceforth enter more and more into a constitutional view of the whole matter. Every man, of any race, knows when he is made to pay more than his neighbour, or more than leaves him enough to subsist upon. Starting from this point, under an expanding system of government and civilization, he may attain to something like a European knowledge of the relations between the State and its tax-payers, before he thinks of claiming a voice in apportioning the levy and distribution of the public money.

*Preparation already Wrought.*—These seem to be the main particulars by which the POLITICAL aim is to be pursued. Before we turn to the SOCIAL, it may be well to console ourselves by the thought of the very considerable extent in which the work is already achieved. The disinterested and benevolent aims of the East India Company have wrought well upon the native mind, through all the obstacles arising from their exclusive methods, by the hard insolence generated in the majority of Europeans by the mere presence of an inferior race, and by the unfortunate

necessity (as to which the Company was the most sceptical of all parties) of conquering the peninsula throughout its length and breadth. If, in spite of these obstacles — living, till lately, under the most stringent bureaucracy that was ever heard of, treated as brutes by nine in ten of the Europeans they saw, and feeling in turn the ravages of war in every province—the people have attained a thorough practical trust in their security under us as to life and property; if they freely appeal to law wherever there are courts, and extol our "justice" while abhorring everything else about us; if they, till recently, understood that their respective religions were never interfered with, that we desired an improved agriculture, and furnished new means of intercourse and trade, and preferred seeing men working at home to fighting elsewhere, surely a great preparation is made for further progress. The fundamental constitutional ideas are there; and where they entered the rest may follow. The more freely they enter, and the more firmly they take hold, the more surely shall we handle our great Eastern empire. If we were the most exclusively military power in Europe, we could not attain so safe a grasp by military methods as by that sort of tenure which, at this hour, amidst all the incitements of a military revolt, leaves the people of India generally best satisfied to let us remain. They are tilling their fields and paying their taxes in multitudes, while the soldiery are straining every nerve to expel us, and the criminal class are plundering wherever they can lay their hands on booty, and

indulging in a license of wickedness which does not seem to spread beyond the two revolted classes—those revolted classes constituting, as has been said, only the fifteen-hundredth part of the population of our Indian empire. A people quiet and staunch, for any reason, under such circumstances, must be admitted to have entered upon political existence. Time and wise experiment must prove what further they are capable of. Can a course of such wise experiment be decided on, and the means organized, on the summons of the Minister, in the Parliamentary session following the revolt, and before we have disposed of it? The first of our wise endeavours should be to gain time.

### Social Objects.

The first question under this head is the colonization of India. What ought we to wish? What ought we to do?

We shall gain little light from the past about this. At first, "interlopers" were abhorred by the Company, as poachers are abhorred by game-preservers, and "mean whites" by American slaveholders. The case explains itself. When, at length, the Company became aware of its responsibilities as a territorial power, a genuine and humane interest on behalf of the people grew up, which induced a dread of their being ill-used by chance settlers on the one hand, and, on the other, made discontented under the Company's rule by tidings of revolts and strifes between other peoples and their Governments. Then, the rule of exclusion was relaxed; and, finally, the country was

thrown open for settlement, as it remains now. The argument is no longer whether Englishmen can go and live in India if they please; for to reimpose obsolete restrictions is out of the question in our age of the world. The point for consideration is, what can be done to render such immigration most safe and beneficial to the native population. The case of the immigrants will come under notice afterwards.

1. *Free Colonization.*—One of the chief benefits of our new public works in Hindostan is that they afford admirable centres for the settlement of Europeans. They are natural centres to begin with; and simplicity is the first virtue in such a case. Next, they reduce the speculative element to the utmost; for every man who goes will, in the first instance, have his proper business, which will open the way for a safe sort of speculation, grounded on the formation of roads and the improvement of land. From each railway station, for instance, European settlements will radiate to an extent proportioned to the importance of the market thus rendered accessible. The groups of immigrants collected round the head of the Ganges canal, and near the tea plantations formed on the slopes of the Himalaya, are patterns of hundreds or thousands more which will grow up as our improvements extend. No question can be more grave than that which is first suggested under these circumstances:—What terms are these settlers and the natives to be on?

Nobody at home can give an answer to this which it would be at all safe to rely on; for much depends on a fact which cannot be satisfactorily ascertained—

What the morals and manners of the Company's servants towards the natives have actually been. There has been every gradation of conduct, probably, as in every other class of men: but the conditions of the case are opposite, according to the general profligacy and insolence, or the general sobriety and dignity, of the English officials at the stations throughout Hindostan. According to one authority, an able correspondent of the *Times*, official men were once in the habit of surrounding themselves in their quarters with disreputable women and their rapacious and profligate male connections; and of steeping themselves in sensual indulgence of all kinds, while treating as brutes the natives who either ministered to their vicious pleasures or remonstrated against them; whereas, says the same authority, all this is much amended now; the Europeans have become more sober and decorous, and generally considerate, while further divided from the people by that very improvement. Others tell us that such profligacy was never more than an exception; that half-caste children were rare; and that officials, civil and military, had too much to do at their posts, and too little liking for Hindoo or Mohammedan companions, to cultivate their acquaintance for virtuous or vicious reasons. There is probably a good deal of truth in both statements; and the case is one which exemplifies the diversities of human character. The one particular in which all the accounts seem to agree is that of the insolence of tone and manner with which natives are habitually treated. This is confirmed by all sorts of

testimony. Anglo-Indians who come here on furlough tell us that nothing can be done with the natives but by the most imperious language and conduct—just as Nile travellers used to say (and say too often now) that nothing can be done with the Arabs but by blows, and as the American cotton-planter declares the whip to be the natural motive of the negro. Bayard Taylor, from the United States, and other foreign travellers in our Indian territory, express amazement and disgust at the creeping subservience of the natives before every white face, and the audacious absolutism by which such abjectness is created. Again, the last chapter of LUTFULLAH'S narrative discloses his perpetual surprise at being politely and kindly treated in England; and, when asked by the Prince Consort what he admired most in England, the Indian stranger replied "that the civility of the people of high rank and station was the thing most admirable"* in his view. As time and change have proved that negroes work better without the whip, and that Arabs navigate the Nile better without kicks and blows, we may hope to see that in Hindostan, as in the rest of the world, "Courtesy is a power." The experiment seems likely to be tried first, and most extensively, by the introduction of settlers for commercial and agricultural purposes. They go among the people—with less sense of responsibility than the official man, it is true, but also with far less class-prejudice and traditional narrowness. Moreover, they are there, not to rule over their neighbours,

* Autobiography of Lutfullah, p. 418.

but to employ them, and, so far, to depend on them; and this sort of connection has a powerful civilising influence. As is the Yorkshire manufacturer of our day to the deputy of Cortés in Mexico, so is the indigo-planter in Central India to the collector of the last century, and (as there is too much reason to believe) in some districts even now. The best hope is in the settler getting on so well with his neighbours, as to shame the insolent official, if such there be, out of his ill-manners. There is a broad basis for a good understanding between the lay settler and the natives, from which everything might be hoped if no arbitrary impediments were raised. There are many rich men among the various sects of India, who will impart their capital more and more freely as enterprise extends; and there are multitudes of wretchedly poor men who will first be glad to work for pay, and in time enjoy the natural benefits of an expanding industry. As masters of the arts of life, and employers of labour, and creators of convenience and abundance, our countrymen who go out as planters, manufacturers, or merchants have a power of social good lodged in their hands such as few men in our age of the world are endowed with; and it is in pursuit of their own fortunes that this power is to be exercised. Surely such a case is full of hope and cheer!

The indispensable requisites to success in the great experiment are, first, that in all important respects the settler and the natives should live under the same law, whatever by-play may be permitted to the natives on account of traditional customs and sectional fancies.

As all must be equal before the law in the matter of allegiance to the authorities of the State, so all must be equal before the law in regard to security of property, the observance of contracts, liberty of industry, the liability of debtors, and, in short, all the particulars which concern them as industrial fellow-citizens. Next, that taxation should be impartial. Next, that the means of full and free intercourse should exist from the time when the relation begins. This last requisite depends chiefly on the settler. It is a more feasible thing for the comparatively few immigrants to learn the native language of their selected locality, than for the multitude of natives to learn English; and especially after the establishment of such an abominable jargon as the servile classes speak for English. It will be a matter for consideration how, while immigration is left free and open, particular encouragement can be given to such qualifications (a knowledge of the vernacular, for one) as are indispensable to the formation of a genuine alliance, a true fellow-citizenship, between the British and native inhabitants. The large and promising schemes of cotton growing, of inland navigation in India, of *exploitation* of the country in all departments of production, render this problem important in the highest degree. It is probable that a sound industrial and commercial connection may make India ours, really and truly, soundly and for a great length of time: whereas, if the British go as soldiers on the one hand, and slave-driving planters on the other, we shall to a certainty lose India, and in a thoroughly disastrous

manner. Our middle class men will decide the case, if the Government afford them scope to do so. Equal laws, and security of property and industry being provided, it will be for private individuals or commercial bodies to decide whether they will become acquainted and live on friendly terms with their neighbours, or, by merely getting out of them what they can, leave the ignorant pagan and the fanatical Mussulman to be possessed by the old seven devils of prejudice and hatred which cannot come out but with much rending and tearing.

2. *Tenure of Land.*—The fact of an increasing colonization of India brings us immediately upon the scene of difficulties at which every heart sinks. Who is not weary and sad at the mere mention of land tenures in India? Who will undertake to say that any British Parliament is qualified to decide even which of the three systems of deriving revenue is the best in any or every part of India, or how far it is possible for any of them to work on much longer; or how any one of them can be best exchanged for a new method? How far is our existing Parliament qualified even for committing the decision to any specified tribunal? Considering the earnestness with which the land tenures and revenues of India were discussed seventy and sixty years ago, how often the subject has come up since, and what highly-qualified judges have taken opposite sides, and drawn opposite conclusions from the mass of Indian facts, is it conceivable that a wise system can be inaugurated by our imperial Goverment? or that any British Parliament or Minister can select,

within a few weeks, any authority which can be trusted with the decision of such a question? It is needless to say that in this place, it would be useless even to speculate on the right policy. The object is not to discuss the question, but to gain time for due consideration; and, with that view, it is enough to say that the whole case of land-settlement in India is intimately connected with those of free European immigration and the prosecution of public works. If this had been duly understood for half a century past, much unreasonable censure of the East India Company would have been spared, and we should have been aware that to settle India requires some further arrangement than taking off the old prohibition. The land tenures in India are various, and some of them so peculiar that, in certain neighbourhoods, it would be difficult to show how new comers could sit down to their agricultural work without injustice to some inhabitants, or discontent with the Government on account of its levy of revenue. It is certain that some fundamental changes must be made, if free immigration is to take place: and those changes will necessarily involve the destinies of India to such an extent that it is fearful to think of our danger of precipitation in legislating on the subject, or in confiding the power of management to any individual who can be proposed by the Minister.

To colonize India it is necessary that the new residents should be able to acquire land. No thorough *exploitation* of the country can be effected if the improvers cannot obtain possession of land. If long

leases would do for a time, it could be only by the lessee being at once master of the soil for the term of his lease, and satisfied with the method and degree of his liability to Government. Now, who owns the land in India? That is the first question. In order to answer it, we may ask, how is it that some people call Lord Cornwallis "the great creator of private property in land in India," while others, of high authority too, declare that what he created was "private property in the state revenue," and that he was "the great destroyer of private property in land?" He could show a body of new proprietors; but others could point to hundreds or thousands of dispossessed owners for each one that he had created. So said Metcalfe, and so have others declared who knew India better than Cornwallis did when he was penning his scheme at sea; that is, between the Cape and Point de Galle.

Who owned the land before Cornwallis was born? It may be said, in a general way, that the land belonging to a village was, or might be, held in ways at least as various as the land in an English county. Some considerable portion was actually owned; other portions were permanently occupied by right, without being owned; others were held on lease, or for regular periods; while others again were occupied by tenants at will. If this had been all, no Englishman would have dreamed of creating a new proprietory, and bringing all the existing occupants under one head as tenants. But the relation of Government to the land obscured all the native relations which lay beneath,

and rendered the questions of land tenures and revenue as complex and excruciating as they now are.

It is customary to call the Government the rent-holder of India; from which the transition is easy to the idea of Government being the landowner of India. If Government were really so, the task before us would be much simplified; for it would be easy to open the country to purchase by capable proprietors, and to reserve enough land to maintain the Government according to the ideal of the economists, which they cannot persuade the Americans to immortalize in practice. But in strict truth the Government has nothing to do with rent. It is a share of the gross produce which Government takes. The question of the amount cannot be entered upon here. The compassionate observers of the fortunes of the ryot say, it is not less than four-fifths that the Government and the zemindar take from the cultivator; while the profession is that Government takes one third in one place, one half in another, and so on. Metcalfe's statement is "the tax is generally so high that it cannot well be higher." It has been the constant endeavour of the East India Company, for a long course of years, to reduce the amount as much as is consistent with the maintenance of the requisite revenue: and Metcalfe's papers on the subject were in part called forth by a proposal, on the part of the Court of Directors, to let the tax remain fixed on certain lands, though the cultivator (owner or lessee) should devote his field to the growth of sugar-cane or other more valuable crops than those on which the

estimate was calculated. This well meant proposal was proved to be unjust and impolitic; and we need only make the passing remark, that we see here one of the mischievous effects of taxation in the form of a division of produce. Other mischiefs and perplexities are obvious enough. Shall the estimate be made by calculating the comparative value of soils? or by scrutiny of the crops? Under the permanent settlement, the zemindar class had, for the most part, no right, beyond the arbitrary will of the Government, to the ownership of the soil, while, of the ryots under them, some were the hereditary owners of the fields they cultivated, others had an hereditary right of occupation, and the rest held leases from other owners than the "manufactured proprietors," as we often hear them called. All this was done long ago; and so was Munro's revolution, in which the middle class was swept away with as little ceremony, leaving the cultivators a prey to swarms of native valuers and collectors, who made their own profit out of every field they taxed; and so, indeed, was the more promising intermediate system,—the village system of the North-West provinces, where the headman is made responsible for the revenue, and where, it is feared, the levy is made by means of atrocious cruelty, inflicted by natives on natives. These arrangements also were instituted long ago; and all we have to do with them here is to draw an inference or two from their operation. We see what has become of the old owners of the soil. Some of them are still owners; some of the deprived are tenants for terms; and some

are tenants at will. The bulk of them are excessively poor. Rammohun Roy told us, thirty years ago, that one might take one's stand anywhere in the country, and find that within a circle of a hundred miles there was probably not one man, outside the zemindar class, who was in independent circumstances, or even possessed of the comforts of life. There are literally millions of inhabitants who, eating rice, and clothed with a mere cotton cloth, cannot live—much less accumulate. Their only wealth, hereditary or acquired—their silver, hoarded as money or ornaments—has gone by degrees to pay their taxes, and they can sink no lower. It is true, there has been considerable improvement in various directions. Before Lord Cornwallis's death, he saw cultivation rapidly extending; and great progress has been since made. In some regions, and especially in the North-West provinces, the cultivators have, in great measure, ceased to sink, and occasionally assume the aspect of a rising community. But how can any considerable number of British agriculturists or manufacturers sit down amidst such a state of things as exists? Are they to rent land of zemindars? or to buy up rights of permanent occupancy, with more or less restriction as to the treatment of the soil? or to purchase of the actual owner?—subject in all these cases to hand over the main proportion of their produce to Government? Is it conceivable that English capitalists will put themselves under such a system? Will any Englishman improve the soil under the liability to an increased levy at certain periods, heavy

in proportion to the improvements he has made? Yet, can there be one system of taxation for the natives, and another for immigrants? That is out of the question. Will there be a method of redemption provided? Will there be a method of immediate commutation? These are among the questions already discussed, and certain to be more earnestly discussed ere long. Much may be learned from the agriculturists among the few hundreds of existing immigrants—the indigo and sugar planters—as to the difficulty or otherwise of obtaining land in fee, and of the liabilities belonging to tenancy, in regard to both the owner and the Government. But this inquiry will take much time. The only thing we can be sure of beforehand is that enterprise cannot prosper as it ought under other conditions than full and free proprietorship of land, and an ascertained and moderate amount of tax. Considering this, and that the levy of the revenue is extremely oppressive in its operation, while the country might yield a fivefold or tenfold amount under a better development of its resources, we may safely conclude that, if we are to retain and settle the country, a total change of system must take place, whether the change be gradual or speedy; and such a prospect authorises a demand for delay. We have much to learn yet before we are qualified to decide what shall be done about the land and the revenue of India, or to appoint any authority which may relieve us of the decision. On one hand we hear that our countrymen will certainly buy out all the natives ere long;

on another, that the Government is the sole land-owner, and that it will sell land to Englishmen gladly enough; and again, that British capitalists might easily, as individuals or in companies, buy up whole villages from Government, and make their own terms with the inhabitants. One may hear half-a-dozen such suggestions in a day; and one may see an "old Indian" smile at them all; or, more probably, sigh over the whole business, saying that, if we break up the old foundations to plant down our modern schemes, we shall simply lose India. It is encouraging to remember that all the authors of the existing land-settlement methods anticipated a free colonization of India in the near future, and that their defenders have ascribed all failures to that particular disappointment: but it does not follow that, the evils having been established for fifty or sixty years, any colonization beginning now would exclude them. Nor is it probable that, in the advanced state of British enterprise, enlightened capitalists would risk their interests and labours under such a system as that of the land revenue of India, though ignorant and rash adventurers might do so. For the introduction of a sound class of British capitalists, as well as for the future coalescence of that class with the natives, and for the immediate benefit of the natives themselves, it seems to be desirable in the highest degree to institute a more various, if not a wholly different method of taxation; or such a re-arrangement of the present method as will make it in fact a new one. Europeans will not,

even if they can ever so easily, buy land which has to yield up the largest obtainable amount of its produce to Government. An extensive immigration of Europeans would make other methods of taxation practicable and increasingly profitable. And, again, the resources of India will not be fully developed till Europeans do invest their capital largely there. Such is the statement of the case, according to the best authorities. Is the Minister willing,—is Parliament prepared,—to take such a case in hand, and settle it in a single session? But that the task cannot be indefinitely deferred, any true statesman would decline to say how long it must be before any British council could be qualified to frame a new polity so difficult in its character, and so serious in its results—whatever they may be. Any statesman who would invent and carry a new system in the course of a few weeks or months, should be prepared to lose India, after a course of famines, revolts, and chaotic conflicts such as English history has not to show, and Asiatic experience can hardly match.

3. *Revenue.*—As to what would be the best method of taxation in a country so full of natural wealth—so vast, and so variously peopled—the first fact which presents itself is that there is yet a prodigious amount of waste lands. There are, on the one hand, wild tracts which seem to have been always uninhabited, though fertile; and, on the other, there are lapsed territories, once covered with towns and villages, and rich with produce, which might be reclaimed,

Wherever any important public work has been completed, production immediately increases, and population thickens fast. It was the policy of the Company to discourage the sale or letting of waste land at low prices to the native residents in Hindostan, because it was already difficult enough to levy the revenue from each village; and it would become impossible if, instead of tilling the fields at home, the cultivators should wander away to the wastes. But it might be quite another thing with a European class of customers. The undisputed theory of a perfect taxation is that, at the outset of the political existence of any State, a reserve of lands should be made for the purposes of Government; the perpetual increase in the rent, consequent on the thickening of the population, being adequate to the increased expenses from the same source. As no State is aware of its own beginning, and good lands are all appropriated before the inhabitants entertain the question of a polity, the experiment is ordinarily regarded as an impracticable one. May it not be otherwise in this case? Whose are the wastes in India? We find them spoken of as the property of Government. If so, why not dispose of them—not for the sake of a stated proportion of the produce, but on lease for long terms, and to lessees who would develope their fertility? It would have to be considered how far such lands lay from the railroad, and whether they could be brought within the compass of public works and the reach of markets. Many points would have to be considered:

but here is one method of diverging from the practice of levying proportions of the produce—the nominal and real levies being very unlike each other.

According to the fundamental principles of taxation, direct taxes are better than indirect; they should be as equally distributed as possible, and they should be paid out of income and not out of capital. The two last conditions are practically violated in India to a most serious extent, even if the first is not. Probably the headman of the village makes everybody pay something, whether the householders have land or not; but it is certain that the richer landowners exact from the peasants a good deal more than their dues to Government, and also that the hoards of millions of the people have melted away, and their possessions been mortgaged, pawned, and lost, to pay their taxes. It may be questioned whether a poll-tax would work so ill for the payers as the land-revenue system. Assessed taxes on articles of necessity, convenience, or enjoyment, could apply only to the more opulent of the natives; while imposts on any species of industry, or on any industrial materials, are bad in principle. It would be a pity to introduce any duties on commodities, even if the state of commerce would justify such a system. To leave industry free, and allow commodities to be supplied at their natural price, must favour the wealth of the country, and, therefore, the maintenance of the Government, more than any honest, direct taxation, could injure it, among a people accustomed to a direct taxation, succeeding to a constant liability to pillage. These are

points for consideration not to be hurried over—for the welfare of future generations, and, possibly, the civilization of Asia, may depend on them—but to be discussed with abundant hopefulness, because the whole debt of the country, and any amount of revenue that can ever be required, are a mere trifle in comparison with the wealth which might be obtained by a very moderate application of enterprise, skill, prudence, and benevolence. If, under existing disadvantages, the country yields a revenue of nearly 30,000,000*l.*, what might it not do when we and other European nations go there for cotton, sugar, dyes, and timber; for grains, seeds, gums, opium, hides, silks, and various manufactures; for tea, wine, fruits, fibrous substances, and much besides? When the rivers show their long lines of flatboats laden with produce, and the railways their waggon-trains of commodities, and the plains are covered with crops, and the hills resound with the axe which lays low the finest timber in the world, will it be any difficult matter to pay off a debt of 56,000,000*l.*, or the interest of it, or to provide thirty or forty millions yearly for the support of Government? A more hopeful prospect never lay before a council of statesmen than that of providing a state-income for India, if the money were all.

4. *Improvement in Civic Relations.* — Our Indian fellow-subjects, in the mass, might well think that the money is all, by what they know of us. Multitudes of them have no other idea of the relation of India to the English than that the one pays and

the other receives the revenue. They know that every effort is made to raise a certain amount from each village, and that Englishmen are distributed in posts all over the country to see this done. They otherwise see very little of Englishmen—except, indeed, in the army.

The task which lies before us in the future is to dissolve this fatal conception. Why should genuine intercourse between the natives and the British ever have been confined to the military department of social life? There is nothing in the fearful issue of the particular connection in Bengal to alter our duty in regard to other classes than sepoys. There was a time (according to Sir John Malcolm and others, who knew better than we can know now) when the relation between the native soldiers and their British superiors was sound and true, and thoroughly advantageous to the native; and there seems to be no reason why the same beneficial relation should not be established in all departments of industry and social pursuit. We led up the native soldier into intercourse with us, putting the idea of his taxes out of his head, and giving him other things to think of; and, whatever mistakes we may have committed since to his injury and our own destruction, we did elevate him above the rest of native society before we spoiled him, by indulgence first, and then alienation. What we have to do is to elevate others than soldiers, and neither to spoil nor insult them. We have to raise them into skill, industry, and prosperity in agricultural pursuits, in the arts, and in trade; and there are plenty of evidences, on the

soil, in the towns, on the rivers, and in all average households, that the task is easy enough, if only it is prosecuted in a right spirit. We are not in reality a military nation: we are not in fact bent on our money and nothing else, when we send our young countrymen to administer affairs in India, and when we gather counsel from all the grey-haired Anglo-Indians we can meet: and if the natives really think so of us, it is from our mismanagement. Under the very settlement which deprived multitudes of natives of their hereditary fields, the Company sacrificed an enormous amount of revenue, purely for the good of the people. Nothing in the shape of corporate or representative government ever approached that of the Company in beneficence—not in disinterestedness merely, but in painstaking, patient, difficult, protracted experiments of good government, exhibiting an unexampled munificence indeed, but a noble devotedness which is of a higher order than any money-giving. Yet the bulk of the people in India know nothing of this. The task is before us to fill their minds with other associations than they have ever had yet; and when our merchants and planters go and settle there, not as rulers like the early generation, nor as interlopers, discouraged by the Government at a later time, but as citizens who go to live and work there, the people will work for them, and emulate them in work, and at length regard them as neighbours, just as the soldiers once regarded their officers as comrades; and they will become fitted, the immigrant and the native, to live side by side under equal laws. If they are human, such might be, and

ought to be, the natural course of events. Thus far, the English have been soldiers or civilians. The English *citizen* is a character yet to be disclosed to the native mind, except in a very few spots in the provinces. We have to see whether the citizenship must be for ever confined to the English.

It should be remembered in this connection that our presence in India has extinguished such civic interests as existed before, and depressed the inhabitants below one level of hopelessness and *ennui*, except in the commercial cities along the great rivers, where the pursuit of wealth and of some degree of social distinction can still be maintained. As the native princes have unavoidably sunk into mere shams of greatness, the classes next below them have sunk too. Intolerable as the native rule had become, it *was* rule; and the rulers were sovereigns in reality. They now have palaces and princely incomes, and nominal officers of state, without any actual power of political administration. The aristocracy, who had their political aims and interests, like the same class elsewhere, can now only intrigue for pastime, and hunt and amuse themselves; the orders below them have, again, none but restricted personal objects to pursue, even where there is but one white face to be seen within a circuit of hundreds of miles. Englishmen at home are perpetually remarking on the frivolous and hard and vicious state of the social mind and manners which grows up under such despotisms as those of Austria and Naples, and (now) France, through the exclusion of the solemn and generous and virtuous aims and

interests which are the offspring of political liberty. The society of the chief continental cities is an intellectual and moral desert to Englishmen who are worthy of their citizenship. Under a different aspect, the same phenomena are seen and felt in the cities of India; and if our countrymen had been duly qualified for intercourse with the natives, the state of the case would have been apparent long ago. Wherever a career in life is open, there the natives are superior to their countrymen in general. The puppet-princes are the worst specimens of all, perhaps, for other reasons in combination with this; but next to them come the aristocracy, who have no political functions to fill, no tribal wars to embark in, nothing to do but make a show and revel away their lives. The merchant class are superior, because their career is less restricted. Some of the merchants of Bombay and Calcutta, and a considerable number throughout the country, are highly intelligent men, devoting their time to improving objects, and ready with their wealth to promote the general welfare and all manner of private charities. With such a class before our eyes, it would be the mere insanity of prejudice to doubt whether we can make citizens of the races they belong to. They found colleges and schools as well as hospitals and almshouses, and vigilantly guard and improve the institutions they have founded, making a genuine pursuit of objects which are thus seen to be no mere child's play of benevolence or ostentation. Nowhere are there better trustees of educational institutions than some native gentlemen who have

founded colleges and opened libraries and schools. They not only guard and improve the property, but exert themselves to elevate the studies and expand the literary resources of the students and their instructors. Similar characteristics mark the learned class of natives, and yet more, all who are permitted to enter into competition with Europeans in any walk of public life. While all this is the case, and always was so, we have taken up natives for the military career, and no other! If we have our rebuke, we have also our encouragement from the issue. We chose a handful of the population to serve our purposes; we spoiled them by our selfish exclusiveness; and we hopelessly offended them by barring their rise above a certain point in a profession which exists by ambition. What our fate in this instance teaches us is, that we must bring up our native neighbours in every other department of social action, avoiding partiality, and setting up no arbitrary limit in the path of their advancement. We have been too much given at home, as well as everywhere else, to *à priori* speculation about the "sphere" of our inferiors, be they who they might; and the Irish Catholics, the American colonists, and English ploughmen, artisans, and women, have all had more or less of the experience which the Hindoos and Mussulmans of Hindostan are suffering under, of having their "sphere" (a very contracted one) pronounced on by the dogmatists who appropriate a higher "sphere." The insolence on the one hand, and the irresistible advance on the other, now open a prospect of the establishment of some

criterion in this very essential matter. Once admitting that there may be a criterion, it is not very difficult to discern the nature of it. In regard to the American colonies, and to a good many humble members of society at home, it is plain that their true sphere is, *what they can do.* It would be wise to apply it in the Indian case, to all appearance. If, instead of attempting to hold India as a preserve of English destinies, a nursery of British fortunes, we throw it open, with the aim of developing India for the Indians, by means of British knowledge and equity, we shall find our own highest advantage, political and material, and may possibly recognise brethren and comrades at length, where we have hitherto perceived only savages, innocents, or foes. A preacher belonging to the Evangelical Alliance told his hearers, one evening, that he was once walking towards a Welsh mountain, very early in the morning, when the mist was on the hills; and that he saw on the upland something that, magnified and disguised by the mist, looked like a monster. As he drew nearer, he perceived that it was a man; and when he came up to him, he found that it was his brother. That brother was not a sepoy, certainly; but neither are all the natives of India sepoys; nor are unspoiled sepoys monsters. It is of the utmost importance to us to ascertain what our Indian fellow-subjects are and can do; and the discovery can be made, perhaps solely, but certainly soon and clearly, by opening to them a free career in every department of social life. It is their concern how far they are able to use the opportunity. When

dogmatists of the old school insist that an artisan cannot learn to vote properly, nor a ploughman benefit by books, nor a negro slave learn to read, the sensible answer is, "Let them try;" and so it seems to be with the natives of that India which was a cluster of empires while Britons lived in caves. Let the career of social usefulness (political or other) be thrown open; and the world will see who can run and who must halt. Among the many benefits of such a method, it is by no means the least, that men will be brought face to face, and must soon cease (whether the dark or the white) to look on one another as monsters.

We hear so much at the moment of the sepoys as monsters, and see it so generally taken for granted that their recent outbreaks are simply a manifestation of insuperable vices of race, that little favour can be expected for any proposal to regard them as men, and treat them as subjects of ameliorating discipline. But we shall wander hopelessly from truth and good sense, if we do not remember that the case is *not* new, though, in our horror, we naturally exclaim that nothing like the treatment of the sufferers in India was ever heard of before. It is a painful subject to dwell on; but we are bound to remember that the same ferocity and devilish cruelty have been manifested in some stage or other of every religious fanaticism, and every outbreak of a half savage conquered people. The persecution of the Albigenses was marked by cruelties equal to any perpetrated last year in India; and this is only one of many instances in which the

agents were white men and Christians. In Cromwell's time, unspeakable horrors, tortures, and indecencies in one, were inflicted on the mountain Christians in Savoy; and in our own century, there have been excesses of the Carlists in Spain, and of Gallician peasants towards their nobles, which were as diabolical as anything the sepoys are answerable for. Some rebel serfs on the Volga showed equal cruelty and lust but a very few years since; and the mulattoes (more than the negroes) in St. Domingo, half a century ago; but the cases which involve consideration of colour and slavery are less instructive, in the present connection, than those in which European Christians have been the aggressors. As to the supposed constitutional vices of our Indian natives — falseness, treachery, and lust — the last may probably be implicated with a basis of race, though mainly due to training; but as for the others, it will not be disputed that deceit is the natural resource of the oppressed, and treachery the power of the weak. This is true everywhere, among all races; and we can form no judgment of the moral capacity and promise of any Asiatic people, while it is under the strong hand of Christian conquest, or, as we might better say, under the European heel. If we are ever to learn whether there is, between us and the races of Hindostan, any of the family relation of humanity, we must give them scope to show what they are and can do. It is for them to prove their capacity, intellectual and moral; but it is for us to afford them the opportunity. We must dispel the mist which makes monsters of them.

There is a preliminary process, however, to be attended to and provided for: that of an appropriate education.

5. *Education.*—The historical student is aware that no mode of Government has yet succeeded in drawing the most qualified men into the function of administration. Absolute sovereigns are served by men who can submit to be tools; and not only tools but slaves. At the other end of the scale matters are no better. In a democratic republic the best men retire furthest from public life, and the most unscrupulous, selfish, and flexible obtain the power, because better men will not accept the conditions. Our own country has the best chance in theory; and in regard to the personal character of Ministers, the average is, we believe, the highest known: but after a dozen years of such incapacity as our Government services have exhibited, it is necessary only to refer to the failure of the class—the aristocratic order—of men who practically assume that the Government of the country is consigned to them by some irresistible authority. Our theory of Government is the best, we English assert: but it does not appear that we get our work done any better than other people. The one partial exception to the failure is the Government of India, as far as the conduct of affairs in certain departments is concerned. The defects of the Double Government we shall have to consider in another connection: and there is no particular comfort in looking back along the series of Governors-General; but below the point of ministerial interference, in all

the departments where the preparatory education of the Company's servants works out its natural results, the quality of the administration is far superior to anything obtained at home. The difference in the transaction of the civil business of the interior is at least as remarkable as the superiority of Indian to Queen's military officers, as shown in the cases of the late Crimean and present Indian war, and as conspicuous as the success of the East India Company in ruling our great dependency, compared with the centuries of mistake for which our Colonial Government is answerable. That, under the circumstances, the Indian Government should be reluctant to admit natives to public employment is inevitable; and there are reasons and evidences which go a good way towards justifying the reluctance: but one great consideration appears to have been overlooked; for, if not overlooked, it would have been placed in the front of the whole argument: viz., that in this case, more than in any other known, the best men will seclude themselves from notice, and the worst will push themselves into it. If we will for a moment consider our own island the scene of events, we shall recognise the truth at once. If a handful of able and powerful foreigners ruled us, professing a faith, and exhibiting manners abominable to us, treating us with excessive haughtiness, insisting on our use of their language instead of our own, and overruling our forms of justice and methods of Government, would it be the best or the worst of our citizens who would seek or accept office under the strangers? The parallel is

not so absurd as some will suppose; for we are apt to take our notion of the natives from the inferior specimens which press upon our observation, either from their numbers or their servility: but it should be incessantly borne in mind that there are, not only individuals of ripe culture in native Indian society, but whole classes who keep up the old private life of their country under the security which our rule affords them, and who never make themselves known to us because they have nothing to ask of us, and wish to have nothing to say to us. While such men are pursuing their business, and their studies and recreations beyond our ken, the vain, the ambitious, the time-serving, the intriguing—and, in many cases, men who are merely restless or inquisitive—thrust themselves in our way, and are taken for certain employments, for want of better. We are not to conclude, then, that if natives are employed we must make up our minds to intrigues in the cities and among the courts, and oppression in the rural districts, and lying and fraud everywhere. If such were necessarily the character of native office-holding, the case would be desperate: for it seems to be undisputed that there must be more and more employment of natives, in several departments now, and hereafter in perhaps all, as the price of our preservation of India. The more we can infuse of the constitutional spirit into the public mind of the country, the better will be the quality of the men employed in the public service.

The means of providing for this necessity lie mainly

in the extension of education. Unless a mutual knowledge and sympathy can be established between the Europeans and the natives, that fuller admission of natives to office which is admitted to be necessary will simply end, as Metcalfe long ago suggested, in our expulsion: and there is no other way than education by which that mutual knowledge and sympathy can be established. The hope that "Christianizing India" may do it, is just now stirring the religious world; but there is one consideration which should reduce that hope to its due limits;—the consideration that the conveying of dogma will not answer in this case, which requires nothing short of a basis of science. It is a case of the extremest difficulty, we must remember; a case in which the chasm to be bridged over is that of race, complicated with oppositions in all the phases of the mind's existence. From the very outset, the formation of associations is different; the faith is (in the Hindoo case) not only different, but creating an opposite character of mind; the action of the moral faculties, and of some of the intellectual, is inverted; and there is nothing in the whole range of human ideas which can operate in the same way on the European and native mind but fact, or, in its extended sense, science. Dogmas may be so offered and so urged as to be received, with more or less sincerity, and in a manner believed; but if the teacher could get into the pupil's mind for a single hour, he would find that under the sincerest use of the same words lay a set of ideas and feelings that he could not recognise at all, from any resemblance to

his own: and it takes many long years to prove the true operation of such ideas and feelings as there are. The Latin Christians were delighted with the influence of their teachings in China, where there were not only a good many converts, but a multitude of secondary Christians, who were becoming familiarized with the leading points of the Catholic faith, and preparing society for the reception of the whole. We witness the result in the gospel of the Chinese rebels. British missionaries have, no doubt, done something better than this; and they will be right to do whatever they can, under conditions of intelligent prudence, and not with the ignorant precipitancy which degraded their cause, and disgraced their zeal fifty years ago. If the missionaries sent out will have patience to obtain a command of the native language of their locality, and to study the native mind before they begin to instruct it, and to implicate the conscience and the affections in whatever they teach, instead of aiming at the reception of dogma, and supposing the main work done when they have apparently accomplished that, they may in time do great good, though there is no probability of their religion pervading the life of the Indian community. Neither will any ultimate purpose be served by any operation through the imagination. Recent events show us the terrific force of Asiatic imagination, and its excessive susceptibility. To this—to "impression"—some of the wisest Anglo-Indians say we owe our Indian empire; and through this, no doubt, effects of any magnitude can be wrought, singly and temporarily, by any power which

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holds the mastery of that faculty for the time. With this we may include the generally allied faculty of subtle reasoning or analysis, so conspicuous among the cultivated natives of India. These may be laid hold of for use by teachers who do not look beyond immediate effects, so as to carry on the native education (as it is called) to an advanced point in literature, and what is supposed by a good many men in all countries to be philosophy. But this is not the education by which alone a true understanding can be established between the governing and the governed nations. For the same reason that the Czar Alexander allowed a certain order of studies to be pursued at Moscow, nearly forty years ago, while others were suppressed, we should discourage analogous pursuits in India. After interdicting all organized societies among the students and literary men, the Czar quietly retracted his sentence in favour of that which was devoted to the study and discussion of Schelling's philosophy. Alexander observed; in an official "aside" to his minister, that he had no objection to a pursuit which amused some aspirations, without any danger of practical results. We, on the contrary, ought rather to discourage courses of study—such as dogmatic theology and metaphysical philosophy—which tend to aggravate intellectual dispositions already too strong, and which can only separate the native mind further from our own, by producing an apparent occasional agreement, where no test of real agreement is possible. The appeal to "consciousness" is abundantly delusive among Englishmen of the same cast of mind and

training. Between the European and the Hindoo it is utterly and necessarily fallacious. A third consideration of caution should be, not to let any instruction in words pass for education. The same structure and habit of mind which dispose the native to credulity of imagination, and to skill and delight in metaphysical pursuits, render him apt and able in all word-studies. In as far as this is taken advantage of for spreading the knowledge and use of English (real English, and not the jabber of the verandah and parade) it is well: but we must guard against supposing the natives educated through any extension of those word-studies to which they are already sufficiently addicted. In the same way, the researches into Asiatic literatures and philosophies, which now constitute a pursuit among a few accomplished native scholars, are a great benefit in their way, and create a good ground for intercourse between them and a few of our best residents in India: but the good thus done is to literature, in the first place, while, in a secondary way, it is pleasant for the two orders of minds to meet on the ground of any innocent and virtuous taste: but all this has nothing to do with establishing a sound mutual understanding and sympathy between two opposing races of men. The only knowledge that can effect this is the knowledge of fact; in other words, science. Men have no power of disagreeing about the multiplication table, or the properties of space, or the precision of a predicted eclipse, or the accuracy with which a ship of any nation, commanded by a captain of any race or lan-

guage, hits its port. Let a man of each race on the globe meet all the other delegates at any point of convergence: it is probable that each will insist on some theological dogma which will appear impious or absurd to all the rest; and, as for philosophy, the abstract Chinese, the inquisitive Hindoo, the narrow Mussulman, the allegorical German, the figurative Arab, the dogmatic Scotchman, the analytical Frenchman, the misty Anglo-American, the literal Red Indian, the sentimental Russian, &c., will speak, each in his own language of ideas, exciting more opposition than sympathy among all the rest. But, introduce science, and what immediate and necessary agreement there is among them all, from the moment they understand the terms, and can verify the facts! The practicable qualities of all objects afford an inexhaustible field of study for all manner of men; and the only area in which there is any hope of peace and progress, as long as opposing races remain otherwise unreconciled.

Here, then, we have an indication as to the importance of educating the people of India, and how to set about it. It is not necessary to use fine words, or propose inaccessible achievements. All the arts of life teach science; and every industrial school already open in India is doing the work we want. The long and short of the matter is that we must teach the Hindoos *things*, and not only (nor chiefly) *words*. In as far as books teach science, let our pupils attain to that book-knowledge: but, if it is our object to train and enlighten the native mind, we have means in every

public work, in every mercantile enterprise, and in every natural fact which takes place before their eyes. A great deal has already been done, both in the direction of book-learning and of industrial training. The more we can extend this kind of enterprise, and win the children from their barren study of the Kurán under their Mussulman teachers, and from their dreamland of nonsense and nastiness under the Brahmins, to sound instruction in elevating and civilizing realities, the more hopeful will be our prospect of holding India and redeeming the Asiatic nations.

There can be no fear but that, in this way, the truth will justify itself, in all directions. This is the faith of the first of living missionaries—Dr. Livingstone. When the native mind is disciplined and enlightened up to the point when the faith and philosophy of the foremost nations can be worthily received, that faith and that philosophy will vindicate themselves, if they be true: whereas, if either is swallowed as an affair of authority or of imagination, the whole process is, or may be, altogether deceptive. Unless we follow the guidance of nature, using our sense and experience as interpreters, we shall ultimately fail in our educational as in our military training-schemes in India; and our ready-made Christians, and philosophical and literary officials, may rank hereafter, in piety, moderation, and intellectual proficiency, with our Bengal sepoys, boasted of so recently for their loyalty to the English, their fidelity to their officers, and the depth of their homage to the wives, and of their ten-

derness to the children of our countrymen. In every stage of the process of training, in so unique a case, there should be some reliable test that we are not moving in a dream—"walking in a vain show:" and nowhere are dreams and vain shows so besetting and importunate as in the fields of religious conversion and metaphysical exploration. The only reliable touchstone is proveable fact, yielding ascertainable knowledge. This, then, is what Government has to charge itself with providing, if we are to escape insurrection through ignorance on the one hand, or expulsion through native conceit and encroachment on the other. Let the missionaries prove the worth of their 100,000 converts, and add to their number by all holy and innocent methods of inducement: but the Government must have nothing to do with dogmatic training of any kind. It has to lay open the field of knowledge to all, and to discipline the head and hands (and with them the heart) of its subjects, as far as Government has power to do so by means of schools. If it does not thus bring the native and the European mind into genuine intercourse, and the heads and hands of the two races into co-operation, it will never do so at all. The question then will be whether the two peoples can march together, thus veiled from each other, through the whole course of the world's history, or whether the one or the other will not, in some terrible hour, fling off the disguise, and lay his mysterious comrade low. We may remember what happened in France when some philosophers introduced to each other two schools of pupils—the

blind and the deaf and dumb. For some time, the respective parties strove incessantly to make themselves understood: when it was found in vain, most of them drew off from the strangers, and amused themselves with their own companions; but they from time to time renewed their efforts, partly from the urgency of the bystanders, and partly through some irresistible impulse in themselves. At length, the point of possible endurance was reached: with yells of rage they flew at each others' throats, and much injury was done before they could be dragged apart. It would be deplorable if the school of Indian intercourse were to resemble this, more or less. Some method of mutual understanding must be found: there is but one universally trustworthy—a common stand on the ground of realities; and in this case, therefore, all training in dogmatic beliefs and verbal acquisitions should follow, and not precede, the knowledge of facts and the practice of industry.

Meantime, it should be remembered that experiments have been tried, sufficiently various and durable to yield some guidance. We have no trustworthy accounts of the state of popular education prior to this century. Inquiry was then set on foot, and it appeared that "the great mass of the lower ranks had literally no instruction" whatever. The labour of children was indispensable to the family maintenance; and, even in the middle classes, the children left school at ten years old, able only to read (with little or no apprehension of the meaning), to write, scarcely legibly, on a plantain leaf, or with a rod on the sand,

and to reckon a few simple sums. Education was believed to have declined exceedingly since the early days of Hindooism, which provided for a series of schools and colleges. The difficulty of administering justice among a people so little known had caused the establishment of two or three colleges, which might supply a class of instructed natives, to help the Government; and Warren Hastings's Mohammedan College in 1781, and the Sanscrit College at Benares, founded by Lord Cornwallis in 1792, were created with this view. After the opening of the century, the missionaries made some attempts at gathering the children together, having found it hopeless to devote themselves to the conversion of adults: and the movement was carried on by the bishops, the first of whom went out in 1814. Side by side with them, the enlightened Hindoos worked for the improvement of the popular intelligence. The Hindoo gentlemen and pundits of Calcutta opened a College in 1816, with the avowed object of bringing their countrymen up to the European level of instruction, adopting "the European system of morals," and the primary conception of "duty to God," while excluding Christianity. In the next year an association was formed, including Christians, Mohammedans, and Hindoos, for the purpose of expurgating the native literature to a sufficient amount to supply schools with decent books. At the Calcutta College, the students acquired a really useful and extensive knowledge of the English language and literature, together with history and geography, while some made a considerable advance in mathematics and

the elements of physical science. One natural consequence was the opening of schools, not only at Agra and Delhi, but in many smaller towns; the method being to improve, in the European spirit, on the knowledge and studies of the country. Another natural consequence was a mistaken eagerness on the part of the English rulers for the exclusive cultivation of their language in the schools. Wherever English was cultivated, the progress made was rapid and striking; and Lord William Bentinck was sanguine as to the effects of its propagation through the country. Calm reason and experience showed, however, that outside the great towns, the people had little use for the English language, and that the short time of a child's life that could be devoted to school-instruction would be best employed in developing his intelligence in connection with the natural business and interest of his career. Serious mischief was done by starving out the native colleges in favour of the English establishments, but Lord Auckland restored them without discouraging Lord William Bentinck's institutions. Where the old exhibitions for students were destroyed, he made amends, as far as he could, by a liberal distribution of scholarships among every kind of seminary. This was the way to elicit the truth in regard to the native demand for knowledge, and it was presently apparent that, however eager was the desire for the English language and literature in two or three of the chief haunts of the British, the real demand of the country was for general knowledge conveyed in the native language.

This brought us into the critical position which has been the subject of perpetual argument and discussion for twenty years past. The Government, the missionaries, the clergy, the citizens, native and foreign, and even the army, have all something to say on what has been done—something to urge as to what ought to be done. Government has steadily desired to countenance and assist popular education, without interference in the religious question: and it appears that, while strictly prohibiting all manner of proselytism in institutions which expressly disclaim it, Government has ever been ready with aid in supporting Christian instruction, as well as worship, in its right place; that is, in establishments openly devoted to the purpose. The missionaries, even while admitting that their hope of Christianizing India rested on an education of the children which could only prepare them for, or indirectly lead them to, the reception of Christianity, have for the most part been opposed to Government undertaking education at all. Dr. Carey used his last painful breath in deprecating all action of Government in that direction. The fear was that the people should have what in Ireland is called "godless education."—Again: it seems to be universally admitted that the whole intelligent population which has been lifted out of the indigenous system of thought by education has no religion whatever, or none which can be classified among existing sects. It would seem that the missionaries at least ought not to quarrel with this result, as it is the state of things which they professed to aim at in their

secular schools, as a clearing of the ground for the reception of Christianity: and it is impossible to conceive how Christianity can be truly accepted through any other process. Yet the fact excites alarm and grief, and is employed at present to stimulate the efforts for the evangelizing of India. The truth probably is that the clearing of the ground is not followed by the new growth which was confidently reckoned on. The multitude who have emerged from the Brahminical system are not becoming Christians. One would think that a case like this, comprehending a very large number of the most intelligent and enlightened natives, might awaken some doubt of their own discretion in the minds of missionaries. It might occur to them that, if they find themselves in such a difficulty as this, they may have proceeded on insufficient knowledge, on narrow views, on mistake of one sort or another which the Government could have warned them of, and by which the action of Government may, after all, be justified: but at present it appears as if failure, or misapprehension of necessary facts (whichever it may be) only animated the missionaries to repeat the old experiment. Yet, again, we learn by various and weighty testimony in the public prints, two orders of facts so portentous that no future Government of India can neglect them. The one is that the educated natives who are mourned over as in this godless condition have everywhere been faithful to us in the present crisis: and not only faithful as desiring our continued presence (essential, no doubt, to their own safety) but trustworthy in

regard to their integrity in affairs, and their attachment to the British personally. The other class of testimonies relates to the actual condition of the native converts, showing that it is their relative incapacity, physical or other, which mainly excludes them from public employment; that they are commonly regarded, by persons of all ways of thinking, as examples of the union of indigenous and European vices: and that it is the universal complaint of the missionaries themselves that they cannot train their converts to "simplicity and godly sincerity," all efforts and the longest discipline failing to cure them of the lying and deceitful habits in which they were reared.

If ever there was a preponderance of evidence in favour of dispassionate prudence, of benevolent caution, in instituting a scheme of policy, surely it is this. The missionaries plead their 100,000 converts; a Christian host, they say, as numerous as the late Bengal army. Let them show what these Christians are and can do. By their fruits we shall know them, and in the course of a single generation. Meantime, it would not be safe to consign the cultivation of 100,000,000 of minds, as yet unfit for the due reception of a religion absolutely alien from, and repugnant to their own, to a class of instructors who profess that alien religion, and nothing else. The only rational method (where all are more or less perilous) is surely to employ the minds of the rising generation on what is, by universal admission, true and real. To awaken and train the powers is, throughout the field of education, more important than to impart any knowledge

whatever. Let this exercise be employed on material which is, in the most accurate sense, knowledge; and then, if the mighty population of Hindostan is ever to to be christianized, this will be found the shortest, because the only secure, road to that end. Government will not, we suppose, interfere with private effort henceforth any more than hitherto: but the education of all young India is not an affair which can be left to private enterprise. It must be very long before a highly centralized Government can be dispensed with in an Asiatic dependency like ours: and if Government is to superintend, or be involved in, the essential work of native education, the only possible way of success seems to be in developing the powers of the pupils, supplying them with knowledge, properly so called, and with the arts by which knowledge is verified and applied.

It is a serious consideration that by this method only can the intelligent natives be prepared for the trustworthy discharge of public functions, and made the interpreters between the foreign and the native mind. If the chasm between the Eastern and the Western races can ever be bridged, it can only be by a class which owes its birth to the one and its development to the other. Thus solemn and thus pregnant is the question of the relation of Government to popular education in India: and it may be hoped that Parliament and people will refuse to be hurried into any premature engagements in regard to it.

## British Objects:—Political.

Such are the political and social objects we have to provide for on behalf of the people of India. Those of the people of England, in as far as they can be separated from the interests of their native fellow-subjects, need only a slight reference at this particular time.

1. *Domestic Policy.*—Our political aims come under the ordinary heads, the domestic and the foreign; and the road to both is the same. We need India as a source of occupation and wealth; as answering most of the purposes of a colony, and some others that no colony ever aspired to. We want it as an ever-expanding market for our manufactures, and as a mine of natural wealth, in the form of raw materials for those manufactures. We desire it as a territory, thickly peopled in comparison with any of our colonies, but admitting and requiring a far larger population to make the most of its resources. We want to clear its jungles, to open its mines, to thin its forests, to till its wastes, to make use of its rivers; and thereby to call into existence tens of millions of human beings who would not otherwise be born. We want to call millions into existence at home by the same means, and to improve the lot in life of millions more. The revenue yielded by India is less burdened by debt than any in Europe, small as it is in comparison with what it might be. Our revenue at home is about one-twelfth part the amount of our debt: and nearly half our annual

income goes to pay the interest of the debt. Every country in Europe is burdened in a heavy proportion, though not so heavily as we are: but India, which is nearly as large as all Europe, has a debt amounting to only between two and three years' income; and less than one-seventh of that income is needed for the interest of the debt. So clear as is the prospect of a doubled, a five-fold, a ten-fold, a twenty-fold, income from India when colonization and commerce have had a free course there for some time, it is a political object of first-rate importance to govern the country in such a way as may best develope the intelligence and industry of the inhabitants, and the peaceableness and loyalty of their temper. It is of extreme importance to render the country one in which English settlers can live in security and prosperity. If we lift up hands and eyes at the announcement just now of such an aim, we must remember that even the suffering colonists on the spot do not. Many of them certainly contemplate returning to their fields and warehouses, with their wives and children, when the remnants of the Bengal army are finally disposed of, and the escaped jail-birds recaptured; and we have their testimony in abundance that the revolt is a Mohammedan affair in the first place, and a military one in the second, all its evils being aggravated by the liberty and license of the criminal population. They tell us that the resident Hindoos lament the outbreak as much as the English can do; that they have assisted the British whenever it was possible to do it; and that British and Hindoos together solace themselves under the calamity by

looking forward to the restoration of peace and order, when they may live as they did before. It must be our endeavour that the native at least shall live more happily than he ever did before.

As for the British, ten thousand of them are always living in and on India as officers, civil and military: and about 30,000 soldiers have hitherto been supported there. Besides the annual income thus derived from India, there are pensions paid in England to retired officers, widows, and children. The total income thus paid in cash to English people is computed at ten millions per annum at least. How much it may be increased by the development of the country, can be no more foreseen than whether the Government revenue of near thirty millions will be only doubled, or quadrupled, or further augmented. It is a great political object to us to develope thoroughly a territory which has as yet been hardly touched by the hand of science and skill. The road to our object is clearly by rendering the people contented and intelligent. Upon their condition of mind, body, and estate depends our welfare among them; and that condition of theirs depends mainly on the method of government we now adopt. A thing, therefore, not to be done in a hurry.

*Foreign Policy*.—Our other object is to keep our foreign relations in a secure state on the side of India.

A few words are enough here. The time for discussion and dispute was when we were sending Burnes up the Indus, for a stealthy survey under

false pretences; and when we sacrificed a succession of gallant officers as spies in Central Asia; and when we went half-way to meet Persia, and lost ourselves and our *prestige* among the Affghans on the way back; and all through fear of the very same Russia which has since proved herself unable to win a single battle on her own European frontier. We have learned some valuable lessons since those days. We have learned pretty accurately what the military forces of Russia are, on her own side of the deserts which have to be traversed in order to attack us in India. We have learned the relative value of Anglo-Indian and Queen's officers on the one hand, and of native and British soldiers on the other. We have learned that, while our watch on the North-West frontier must never be relaxed, there is no ground for such apprehension of invasion as can ever again draw us into the wilds, instead of awaiting at home any possible encroachment of an enemy. We must prove, over and above all the rest, that we have learned what security there is in a well-governed, well-developed, well-disposed people, who prefer our rule to that of any stranger. As far as the possession of India gives us consideration in the eyes of the world (and that will be the case henceforth, more than ever before), and places us at the head of Western influences in the East, our future destiny as a member of the family of nations, our future place in the world's history, depends on the decision we are now to make as to our future government of India. Everybody will agree, that to rule the country well is the true method of defence, as well as

of development, of India as of every other country inhabited by human beings. In any year, and under any circumstances, this must be true. In any year, and under any circumstances, the question of the best mode of proceeding from a new starting-point would be one requiring time, and every appliance of knowledge and capacity that can be obtained. In the present year, and under existing circumstances, a precipitate decision, by ill-informed legislators, would be a crime deserving, as one item of its punishment, the loss of a territory we did not trouble ourselves to govern with care, and a future expulsion from Asia, in favour of a Russian successor.

### British Objects:—Social.

This is hardly the place in which to speak of our social aims in the management of India. The charge at this day of more millions of human beings than the imagination can in truth comprehend, is the most solemn task ever committed to the human intellect and conscience. The conscience of nations has been developed, like other influences, by the passage of time; so that the responsibility of a British nation in regard to India is now a far more serious matter than that of Rome to its dependencies could possibly be so many centuries ago. We have to keep the peace among the native peoples, so that each may live and grow. We have to lift them all out of a low, coarse, irksome, and painful stage of social existence into a succession of higher and better states, till it is fairly ascertained what elevation nature permits them

to reach. We have to weed out the vices, and cherish the virtues, of a population which nearly equals that of Christendom; and in this, we have to settle the balance of probabilities of all Asia becoming civilized or remaining semi-barbarous. We have to justify or abuse the most portentous trust ever yet confided to a single nation. And what shall we say when a rash Minister would persuade us to settle it all, not by the deliberate counsel of a single nation, which would be sufficiently formidable to a people possessed of an intellect and a conscience, but by the precipitate decision of an ill-informed Parliament in a single session? Any Minister who would propose such an act of levity, through ignorance or for a purpose, ought to find every other object set aside, if need be, in order to gain time for a due consideration of this.

## PART III.

### THE FUTURE GOVERNMENT.

*Evils of Change.*—If it is true that the changes introduced into life in India by the advance of science and the arts are more than the constitution of the natives can bear without danger and injury, the first consideration, in the question of ruling India, is to avoid external changes as much as possible. The rush of ideas which attends the telegraph, the steamboat, the railway, and other inventions, is too much for the native brain, in many ways. There is not only the marvel, and the hurry and speed; there is the subversion of old associations—the shaking of the whole structure of ideas; an alteration in the conditions of everyday life; and, yet more, deadly offence to all the priesthoods. Such consequences cannot be helped, though they may be more or less prudently dealt with: but it would be madness to introduce further essential changes which are not immediately necessary. It is an object worth any amount of painstaking to preserve the names and public functions of the authorities under which several generations have grown up and passed away, and especially at a time when the people of India have quite enough agitation to sustain, without any addition from the side of their rulers. The "Company" has been the visible embodiment of Government to them, through several

generations; and if they now lean on British authority and support, amidst the turmoil which prevails, it is by faith in the "Company." Touch that ark, in the hour of tribulation, and all will be overthrown. The multitudes who now trust in us, and depend upon us, and are acting with a view to their future relations with the Company, as faithful subjects, will fall from us on the first solicitation when the Company shall be heard of as dead, or even on its trial for fault or weakness. Nothing that has happened yet in India can compare, as a calamity, with the consequences which must ensue from any invasion of the *prestige* of the Company by the Ministers of the Sovereign. The mutiny has involved the Bengal soldiery, and the criminal and loose elements of society: but an attack upon the British authority which has held the kingdoms of India together till now, and raised the whole country into a progressive civilization, would alienate, by consternation and perplexity, a hundred millions of citizens, over and above the hundred thousand of soldiers with whom we are now contending. The grandest service that any British citizen could at this moment render his country would be to induce the withdrawal, before it reaches Parliament, of any ministerial project for laying hands on the authority of the Company, at a moment when it is essential to the loyalty of India that its ruling power should stand above the storm, unchanged in aspect, uninjured in power, and unaffected in *prestige*. If the most virulent enemy of England were to propose a scheme

of deadliest injury to her interest, it would be that of a change in the Indian Government, at a moment when the population of the country most need and desire to rely on the authority from which has emanated for generations all that they have seen and felt of power, wisdom, protection, and improvement.

*Evils of Clap-trap.*—Next to the insanity of choosing such a time for ostentatious change is the folly of proposing theatrical shows and transparent shams, such as scores of our fellow-citizens have been bringing forward since the idea of a revolution in Indian policy got abroad. Some advise a proclamation throughout India of the Sovereign as Empress of Hindostan. In itself, there might seem to be no harm in this; but what can be said in answer to the question—"Why should it be done?" Why convey to the Hindoo mind, already scared by the sepoy rebellion, the notion that the Government is gone—the Company swept away—nothing left of the authority which had stood for centuries. Either the Company must have been weak, to be vanquished by the Sovereign of Hindostan; or it must be wicked, to have been deposed at such a moment. It may be asserted that the panic will be calmed down, and the royal authority accepted in time, and after due explanation: but why create the panic at such a crisis? why thrust a new authority on a group of nations during a struggle which is drawing their allegiance to the familiar form of Government closer than it ever was proved to be before? The minister who would perplex such an allegiance, and degrade such an

authority, is a greater enemy to British rule in India than Nana Sahib, and all possible kings of Delhi and Oude together. They may alienate the soldiers and the scoundrels: but he would lay open a bottomless chasm between the Government and the whole people, at the very moment when they are confidently preferring our cause, because it stands fast in the old ways. If Queen Victoria is ever to be truly acknowledged Empress of Hindostan, there as here, it must be in virtue of waiting for the fitting hour of proclamation. She has been so for twenty years, in the way which has best suited the interests of her empire in both countries: and to alter the expression of the fact, at a time when all change is perilous, will not look to posterity like skill in her advisers, or loyalty in her subjects.

If a change that tells no lies is to be deprecated for its imprudence, what can be said to schemes that involve mere shams,—such as that which we have seen proposed as the best of all—that one of the Queen's sons shall be enthroned as King of Hindostan. The proposal was at first supposed to be hopeless; but it has been echoed and renewed; and it ought to be noticed on account of the disclosure it involves of certain prevalent notions of India and its people. The people of India are not all babies—not all ignorant of British history and government: and everything that concerns themselves travels fast from mouth to mouth. There are plenty of Hindoos who know that no English Prince has any title whatever to any Asiatic throne: and there is nobody in any country who needs to be

told that no English Prince is, or can be, qualified by knowledge of Indian affairs to govern Hindostan. Every such sham that has been, or can be, proposed will lead every native observer and oracle back to the unanswered question—"Why depose the Company, which does know India, can govern India, and is preferred by the people of India to any Government it has ever had?"

*Evils of a pretended Double Government.*—We all know very well what the people of India, and all other people, would say if informed of the reason which renders necessary some extensive (though not hasty) changes in the government of Hindostan. The reason is not disputed in England, and it would be emphatically assented to in India, if known and understood:—viz. the fact that the Double Government works ill, under its present conditions, for the interests of India. This is a reason for reform. The theory of the method is one thing, and its practical working is another. The power is assumed to be divided between the Board of Control and the Board of Directors; whereas, the power of the Directors is little more than nominal; and that of the Board of Control, and especially of its President, is overweening. Those who know most about India can do nothing except by the capricious leave of a Minister who knows nothing when he enters on his office, and who is, or may be, always entering office, because he goes in and out with all administrations. One of the most melancholy spectacles ever seen is that of the helplessness of the Leadenhall Street authorities about their

own business; so that they must sit still and silent, or speak in vain, while schemes of aggression and plots of circumvention are organized which they disapprove and expect to be calamitous; as they did when we went out to meet Russia at Caubul, and stole up the Indus on false pretences. Nothing can be more distressing than their mortification when compelled to see a hundred small affairs go wrong, because those affairs must wait the leisure or the pleasure of the President in Cannon Row. At one time an army perishes, like a snowdrift in thaw, amidst the Affghan passes, and the mountain tops echo the mocking laughter of the foes we have stirred up: and the authorities at the India House hear it all, with boiling blood, but are unable to preclude the calamity. At another time a cargo of a perishable commodity should be arranged for by one mail rather than another, under the penalty of the loss of £5,000; and the mail goes out without orders, because the Board in Cannon Row must be waited for. This way of ruling India cannot go on. But it is matter for deliberation and consultation *when* the change shall be proposed, as well as what the change should be. The common-sense of ordinary people would doubtless pronounce that the very crisis of a great Indian peril and calamity is not the right time: and the dismissal of the well-informed partner of the firm not the right measure. Men who understand the case will doubtless agree that the best way is for the two to work together as well as may be through the special season—the less-informed deferring to the better-informed wherever possible; both striving to

reduce to the utmost the impediments caused by an obstructive machinery of administration. Afterwards, when the time comes for re-organization and re-distribution of powers, it will be the time to assign more authority to the party which has been too far deprived, instead of lodging the whole in unqualified and fluctuating ministries, under no other responsibility than the customary one—excellent in English, but hopeless in Indian affairs—to Parliament;—a political body ignorant of the politics of India. Responsibility to Parliament ultimately is indispensable, of course, in the case of any British possession; but to abolish the Anglo-Indian body which has always been the medium between India and the home Government, and leave only a changeable functionary or two standing between them, in order to boast that India is to be brought into immediate relation with the Crown, will seem to most people who know what India is and includes, the way to thrust India into immediate relations with any Government rather than the British. This point will be abundantly discussed before long: the immediate and urgent considerations are, first, the rashness of precipitating any conspicuous change at a moment when every old association is precious, and every hint of revolution perilous in the extreme; and next, the perverseness of offering to depose the only authority which has ever shown that it can govern India, and which the people of India have been accustomed to acknowledge, trust in, and obey.

*Scheme of a Minister for India.* — The demand of a Secretary of State for India is not very intelligible,

apart from provisions which might be made without any such special Minister. If India is to be brought into immediate and exclusive relation with the Crown, is this Secretary of State to be the Indian Premier, with a Cabinet in London or in Calcutta? or is he to be the sole ruler of Hindostan, responsible for everything, and to Parliament alone? If so, where is such a man to be found? And if the man were found, what is to be done on the first occasion of a change of Ministry? What benefits could compensate for the evil of installing a new Secretary of State for India with every Ministry that comes in? The mischief is abundantly serious now, when we have the Company and their trained body of officials always ready to advise the inexperienced, and to do the work of the dependency. If we subject India to the liabilities of the colonies, which were not long ago favoured with five successive Ministers in a year and a half, we shall be inviting destruction. If we are to understand the proposal simply as a convenience, in the form of a Minister who may be held to a stricter responsibility in Parliament than can be enforced at present, there may be no objection to the scheme, as far as it goes: but then, two things have to be considered: first, whether the means of obtaining information would be really improved, since it depends very much on the temper and character of the individual whether he will give information, and render candid allegiance to Parliament; and next, whether such an appointment would bring us any nearer to a satisfactory arrangement. Such an official would be so little

unlike the present head of the Cannon Row Commissioners, sitting in Parliament, that we could no more spare the Court in Leadenhall Street than we can now. A Minister for India, guided and checked by a Board of Anglo-Indians, would be so like the present Administration, that the arrangement need never reach the ears of the Hindoos generally, while the change would scarcely be evident to their eyes or even ours: and while doing no great harm, it is difficult to see what good it would do. A Secretary of State who should be substituted for, or appointed to act without, the Company, would be, certainly and immediately, the ruin of India. If fit for Parliament, he must be a stranger in the whole region of Indian associations and manners. If qualified for his post by familiarity with Indian life, he must be unfitted for Parliament. If we have a man with the requisite qualifications, he is wanted at Calcutta; and any man who can be spared from the Indian Council is not the man for the post at home. It may be found a convenience, and possibly something more, to have a Secretary of State for India (supposing the right man to be in existence among us); but he can be nothing more than a single item in a scheme of reform, and not a scheme of reform in himself. If we can unite him with a Council in Leadenhall-street, it may be all very well; but it will never do to abolish the Court of Directors, to set him up in its stead.

It will not be disputed that a Secretary of State for India must have advisers. Shall his advisers be men who know, or men who do not know India? If

men who know India, who is there that can compete with the Directors in this qualification? They are the only people in England who have even any notion of the magnitude of the task to be accomplished. Their lives having been passed in the atmosphere of Indian affairs, they have that priceless attribute, the familiarity with life in Hindostan which renders easy what is most difficult to the European official mind, and precludes a million of mistakes. It seems incredible that a body of men so specially accomplished should be destined for exclusion under the new scheme; and yet, if some are to be invited to act as advisers, what can they reply? They consider their present number small, in comparison with the variety and magnitude of the interests to be provided for: and they would not undertake the responsibility with diminished means. They could not assume the office of advisers without due security that their advice should be obtained, considered, and registered on all occasions; because otherwise their office would or might be merely nominal, and they could have no certainty that India would be the better governed for their being at their posts. To avoid these objections, to have a Minister for India, aided by a Council of Directors from Leadenhall Street, and compelled to require, receive, and consider, their advice on all occasions, would be to adopt an arrangement so like the existing one, that the change would amount to a mere weakening of the existing securities for intelligent Government, and some alterations in names and titles. If it is proposed to set up a Minister for

India to judge and act alone, the people and Parliament of England surely cannot sanction so insane a project. Nor will they countenance any proposal of a council of unqualified Englishmen. Of qualified advisers as to matters of administration, there are none out of the pale of the Company, because India has been accessible only through the Company: and if the advisers of the Ministers are to be derived from the Company, they are not to be had on terms inferior to those on which they are at present acting. Such is the case, as it appears to the common-sense of most men; and as we now (January 20th) learn, to the minds of the Directors themselves.

As the professed object is to bring India directly under the government of the Crown, something like this must be the intention of the Minister. But what is the function of Parliament to be in the business? Is Parliament to accept or reject measures supplied from the Minister's own English brain, in the one case? or from the Minister's Anglo-Indian advisers in the other? Can those advisers be expected, or even invited, to place their plans and proposals at the mercy of a fluctuating body of legislators who, if they represent the British people ever so well, can represent only the popular ignorance in regard to Indian affairs? It is vexatious and painful enough to Anglo-Indians to witness once in twenty years the desultory absurdities of an India debate, on occasion of the renewal of the Company's charter. The general public can perceive, at those periods, the fragmentary, superficial, aimless or

perverse character of the discussion on the part of most of the speakers, and the obvious marks of cramming disclosed by the Ministers. When such debates should not come on only once in twenty years, but as often as anything was to be done in or for India, the case would be too hopeless to be countenanced by adequate judges. A parliamentary Government of India, with its political oscillations, its inevitable ignorance and rashness, its adverse chances, where it is improbable that any measure should be good, and thorough soundness would be a matter of miracle, can never be assented to by any man, inside or outside of the Company's pale, who has even the necessary preliminary knowledge of the conditions of the case. The choice will have to be made between governing India by and through the one class which understands Indian affairs, under ultimate responsibility to Parliament, or without that class. Such is the option at the present moment. Is not this a sufficient reason for delay? Is it not worth while to wait till it can be ascertained whether any means exist of remedying evils in India without banishing from the enterprise the only class qualified to suggest means and attain ends in Indian affairs?

*Head of the Government in India.*—Turning from the legislative administration here to the executive in India—what is to be done there? It may be impossible to convey to the English public any adequate idea of the nature and extent of the mistakes committed by British noblemen who go out to Calcutta unprepared by any special education for governing

Hindostan. The affair was comparatively simple half a century ago; yet, even then, a new Governor-General was in the main reduced to the alternative of being the puppet of his Council or finding himself wrong at every turn, if he acted on his own judgment. No man can become qualified in a hurry for wise administrative conduct in Hindostan, after having grown up in the English habit of mind. It is foreign to English conceptions to administer affairs with the protective minuteness which is indispensable if the Hindoos are to be governed, in their own view of the matter; and the English way of setting about such a new function is sure to be more or less wrong during the period of inexperience. If the case is bad at present, and the strong errors of a Lord Dalhousie, and the feeble errors of a Lord Canning are disastrous at once to India and to England, what may we not expect if the imperial Government holds the power of appointment, without check from the matured knowledge and the administrative experience of the Company? Lord Auckland and his Affghan war are not forgotten yet. The Company strained every nerve to intercept, to modify, to compensate for his mistakes; and yet his errors were irretrievable, and immortally disgraceful to the national reputation. What can be hoped if more Aucklands may be sent out, released from the check of the Company's administrative body? We should witness, in union or succession, the errors of every true British Governor-General, from Lord Cornwallis to Lord Canning, followed by the retribution appropriate to

each—a concentrated retribution which would leave England no Indian problem to solve.

But how do we know that there would be a Governor-General at all? Merely from the obvious fact that a collective empire like our Indian one cannot be ruled but by an individual potentate, under one title or another. There is no need to waste words on this, as it does not seem to be a questionable point. No scheme of governing such a territory by a council, without a visible and responsible head, would be entertained for a moment, in or out of Parliament, because it is fully understood how, in a general way, any aggregate authority works feebly, slowly, and without precision; and, in the particular case, how Government at Calcutta came to a dead lock when the first Council had the means of paralysing the action of the first Governor-General. Some single official personage there must be, it is agreed—whether a viceroy, or a representative of the Company. It would seem that, in the latter capacity, we might have hoped to see a qualified Anglo-Indian at Government House, though, as viceroy, it is too natural to expect, and put up with, an unqualified English nobleman. If the rational hope has been disappointed during the term of the Double Government, what may we not apprehend under British ministerial or parliamentary rule?

The one point in which a due popular apprehension of the ministerial scheme appears to have been aroused is this—the dread of the appointment of a commonplace British nobleman, or of one below commonplace, for the most arduous and the most peculiar

post that has to be filled by appointment, anywhere in the world. On this head, too, the public are provided with a notion and a wish. They see that wherever the officials of the imperial Government and those of the Company come into comparison, the superiority of the latter is conspicuous and unquestionable. The Company's military officers, or Queen's officers, well practised in Indian warfare under the Company's arrangements, have achieved, wherever tried, successes as brilliant as the failures of the other class have been intolerable. The people of England have less opportunity of knowing how far a similar contrast prevails in the civil service: but it is at least as striking to all who have penetrated into the business offices of the two Governments. It is generally understood that nothing, in the way of transaction of business, exists that can compare with the achievements in Leadenhall-street, and in most of the offices in India, which are held duly responsible to the central authority; whereas, we are in the habit of hearing a good deal of the opposite weakness, and feeling something of the misfortune of it, in our home administration. The natural inference is that in the highest office, as in both classes of subordinate functions, a nominee of the Company would answer better than one appointed by the imperial Government. All eyes turn at this moment to Sir John Lawrence as the right man. Whether he be so or not, the general desire should operate as a popular nomination, to check an unpopular one. If it were duly attended to, neither royalty, administration, nor

aristocracy, would venture to propose any ordinary home-bred Englishman as the ruler of a hundred millions of men, while there are Anglo-Indians in existence who are familiar with the country and the people, and have proved that they can administer the one and rule the other.

*Faults of the Company's Rule.*—But, it is said, there is a narrowness of mind in all old corporations, and a formality in all time-honoured administrations, which prove suicidal sooner or later; and the hour of the Company may have come. Is that, indeed, likely? There has been plenty of narrowness in the policy of the Company, no doubt; but that was long ago. Whatever there may be still, it has been perpetually diminishing, from the early days of the hunting of "interlopers," till the present prosecution of public works for the benefit of all comers.

It is an odd moment to choose for the punishment of the Company for narrowness when the development of India is proceeding incomparably faster than at any former period, and when every improvement that becomes manifest is traceable to the foresight and care of the Indian administration. As to the formality in the delivery of words and deeds, that is also true: but it is in part misapprehended; and the rest might be properly cured without endangering our tenure of India. We hear a great deal of the amount of writing always going on at and between Cannon Row and Leadenhall Street, and of the difficulty there is in getting the smallest affairs settled. We hear, again, of the fossil characteristics of the

councillors and staff of all functions at the presidencies. No doubt there is much truth in all these charges. Allowances should be made, however, for the peculiar relation of the two governing bodies at home, whose fidelity, honour, and efficiency, as well as their Charter, require this much-abused plenitude of writing. It is the very principle of the administration of the two Boards that they should communicate in writing, that each may fulfil its own function, and that their work may exist in a visible form for criticism, for reference, and for justification. It is the function of the one to suggest measures, and to prepare despatches, to be submitted to the other, discussed (in writing also), adopted, modified, or rejected. It may well be that in course of time the method may become exaggerated, and that it has actually done so in this case. But it should be remembered that the method exists under parliamentary sanction, and cannot be legally evaded. It is probable that great relief might be given by exempting business of certain kinds and proportions from the ordeal of so much penwork; and why not try, before proposing to dismantle the whole structure of Indian Government for such a grievance as this? The same may be said about the pedants in the councils and at the desks of the Company in India. If they are the offspring of a stringent bureaucratic system, let them be succeeded by men of wider ideas and more enlarged sympathies. As provision is actually made for the progressive expansion of the system, it would be strangely perverse to annihilate

it now on account of faults which it is progressively outgrowing. And is it really supposed by anybody that we shall get rid of such defects by turning over the business to the imperial Government? Do we see in our ministerial councils such frank, broad, sensible, national views prevailing as satisfy us that our domestic interests are furthered according to our wish; and that our good name and our travelling countrymen are safe abroad; and that our national interests are prosecuted everywhere, alike in the darkness and the light; and that no aristocratic prepossessions interfere with the service of the people at large? Is our business so exceedingly well done —are the details of affairs dealt with so promptly and certainly—are ministerial promises so accurately kept—is the service of Government so well liked for the punctual and generous consideration of its claims as that any administration is entitled to ask leave to overthrow the Indian Government, and take charge of it in addition to all the business already on hand? There is not a trait of exclusiveness or narrow formalism in the Company's procedure which cannot be matched any day by many an one before our eyes. There is not an instance of obstruction and delay which will not bring up the mention of ten times as many from sufferers by the unbusiness-like character of our public office work; whereas it would be hard to show in what direction the imperial Government rivals, or has for many a year rivalled, the public-spirit, the generosity, the liberal appreciation of improvements and of

merits which have always—and never more than now—distinguished the rule, spirit, and temper of the East India Company.

This estimate leaves untouched the question whether some of the grievances complained of are ascribable to the Indian or the British partner of the double Government. Many people believe that the Cannon Row partner is mainly responsible for them: but it is the business of a committee of inquiry to investigate this. It does not appear that there is a desire on any hand to exempt the Indian Government from inquiry and ultimate judgment. Such a catastrophe as has occurred authorizes a demand for a thorough investigation. The Company themselves have instituted an inquisition in India, and appealed for one at home; and the one point on which all parties might and should agree is this. The administration, however, leads the way in that precipitancy which is the ordinary reproach of mob judgments, and would obtain from popular excitement that lynch law for the victim which is sure to be repented of when too late, but can never be repaired.

*Characteristic Virtues of the Company.*—In all ages men have taxed themselves with the puerility of not valuing their blessings till they lost them. This will be the melancholy folly of Englishmen now if they do not rescue from destruction,—I do not say the East India Company, but the special blessings for which we are indebted to that body. It will be matter for future consideration whether the

blessings can be secured apart from the corporation to which we owe them.

1. *Independence of Political Change.*—The first of these is the Company's independence of political change. Through whole centuries of irregular changes and frequent perturbations which Englishmen could control and overrule at home, but which made terrible sport of the interests of our colonies, the Government of India has been stable, consistent, as immutable in the eyes of its Indian subjects as a god ruling from a steadfast throne. In so peculiar a case, this has been an inestimable blessing. Its corporate character, and successions of various men, have redeemed its rule from the curse of despotisms—the power of self-will; while its independence of the politics of the day has protected its dominion from the manifold mischiefs of party changes—mischiefs which we admit to be evils at home, though we prefer them to the evils of any other system. To Hindostan the non-political character of the Company has been absolutely a vital matter. Our rule there could not have been maintained if the authorities at the India House had been changed as often as the Ministry, and at the same time with the ins and outs of the President of the Board in Cannon Row. But the benefit has also been great to ourselves at home, though we may only now be beginning to understand the greatness of it. While subject to a constant sense of nightmare under our painful efforts to get the national business done by groups of officials who always and necessarily begin in an incompetent condition, and usually go out of

office or change their function as soon as they become equal to their work, so that the conduct of public business is a perpetual irritation to middle-class people who in their private affairs are accustomed to efficient performance, it has been a real blessing to have one public body in the midst of us which did work effectively, as far as it undertook to work at all. No doubt, it was often jealous in its temper, and restrictive in its policy, and repressive and vexatious towards adventurous men; but whatever it undertook to do was done in an orderly, prompt, liberal manner, and with a continuous force which would have been impossible if it had been implicated with the Ministers of the day. Before we abolish such an institution as this, we are bound to take care that the Government of India is secured, as carefully as hitherto, from being affected by party changes: but, so far from such a precaution being a feature of the Ministerial proposal, the plan actually is to bring India within that very sphere of fluctuations to exclusion from which she owes her existence as a dependency of England. Englishmen may now show that they value a blessing before they lose it. If they make any change, it had better be in an opposite direction to that proposed. They had better make their Minister for India (whether President of the Board of Control or a functionary under a new name) independent of Ministerial changes while the Company exists than subject the future Government of India to such fluctuations. At the present moment, it appears unquestionably the wisest course to make no alterations at all till Minis-

ters and people are better informed about the department of policy it is proposed to revolutionize.

2. *Middle-Class Patronage.*—The second blessing ascribable to the East India Company is the keeping open a broad area of public employment for middle-class occupation. The *Times* professes to be weary of the subject of the popular character of the Indian service; and it is easily conceivable that the Minister, also, is weary of the warnings issued to the public within the last few weeks, under the existing danger of this field of patronage being taken possession of, like every other, by the aristocracy. To vary the topic, it may be well to draw the Minister's attention to the other side, and warn him of the danger to the aristocracy of appropriating the entire patronage of the empire, as they will have done, if they succeed in getting possession of that of India. At the close of the late war, the aristocracy were, for the hour, grave and humbled, as it was fitting they should be. Wherever their connections were in office, the business was apt to break down; and their incapacity impaired our national reputation all over the world, lowered the style and tone of European politics, and showed the proudest families in England the precariousness of their political position, besides clothing almost every one of them in mourning, and reminding them how many more of the homes of England were made desolate by their intrusion upon domains of business for which they were unqualified. Though some advances have been made in the direction of qualification by merit,

the improvement is far from being settled and secure; and at every turn we meet evidences of the reviving spirit of the old possessors of patronage, and of their undiminished vigilance in seeking their own advancement. Just at the moment when the whole empire is becoming sensible of the superiority of the Indian service, military and civil, and when that result ensues which wearies the *Times* and the aristocracy—the warnings to the constituencies and to Parliament not to let the middle classes be excluded from the only avenue to that service of the State in which every class should be more or less exercised—the Minister proposes to appropriate for his class the entire patronage of the Company. How it would be used, we have had abundant warning. There have been complaints in high places for some time past that the aristocracy are not sufficiently represented in Indian office; that new fields of patronage are needed for the younger sons of the upper class; that there are ten thousand civil and military officers of desirable rank in the Company's service, few of whom are nobly connected, because the pay is not adequate to the work and the sacrifices required. The pay suffices for the actual office-holders; and it must be looked to that they and their class-fellows are not made to give way to greedy applicants of higher connections. The Company has paid its servants enough to secure good service, as the results show; while its bounty has been lavished on behalf of the natives, rather than on that of the English. Under imperial government, called parliamentary, there would be large retrenchments of the

outlay for Indian objects on every hint of a question in Parliament; while, on the other hand, it would speedily be made worth while for high-born youths to go out and "represent the aristocracy" in the Indian service.

It can hardly be necessary to appeal to the middle classes to take care of their own interests, and the national reputation, by resisting every attempt, whether sly or audacious, or both, to alienate from them this their rightful field of public service: but it may be well to explain publicly what the case appears to plain-minded men to be in regard to the interest of the aristocracy in the ministerial scheme. The danger which that class became aware of by means of the war is by no means over. It will be always impending till high-born officials of all degrees in all departments have proved themselves adequate to their engagements. If the class at present on probation, and bound to justify their position under heavy penalties, should now seize on, or accept from any Ministry, any new domain of public office, taken from any other class, it is even doubtful whether events will allow them time to prove their quality. It would be madness to suppose that they are at present fitted to rival the Company's officials, in either the civil or the military service: and England is not bound to bear, and India is not able to bear, any deterioration in the public service, at the present or any future time. If the aristocracy value their permanence and security, they must hazard no such imprudence as extending their encroachment into the

field of public service at all, seeing how rapidly and irrecoverably their credit has for some time declined; and of all directions in which to encroach, India is the most perilous. It is the most difficult country to govern in the whole range of the British empire; and it has been on the whole the best governed. Any power which should now get possession of the Government, and bring in a new order of officials to do its work, would almost certainly bring down ruin on the Asiatic empire, and on the British clique which failed to rule and secure it. This would be the last folly, the crowning madness of the aristocracy which should be implicated in the adventure; and their fall would bring down more than were ever implicated. The higher class has had a bare escape with its privileges (its *prestige* not having escaped) within five years. It is too soon to run further risks, were the chances ever so good: and in a case like this, where they have really no chance of success and credit, it would be insanity to invite the national attention to their qualifications, and to challenge public opinion to award them their deserts. They must show a better quality of service in the home and colonial fields, and in diplomatic service in the Western world, before they can with any prudence attempt to engross the East. The loss of India would to them be revolution at home; for it would infallibly cause the overthrow of their order, already insecure from the loss of popular confidence. In this way, it may be said that the fortunes of the aristocracy are bound up with the

preservation of India. Let them act upon this view, and do what they can to induce the Minister to hold his hand till there has been time for consideration all round.

3. *India for the Indians.*—Of the issue of such consideration few can have any doubt. Already the nation prefers the Company's generals to the Queen's: and, as other departments of service are laid open to view, the superiority will everywhere appear on the same side. Important as this is, there is a consideration (before touched upon) which is more vital still: that India has long been, and now is, governed on behalf of the Indians; whereas, from the hour when so-called parliamentary government should be instituted, that aim could never more be steadily maintained and fulfilled. No practical citizen will assert that it could; for the steady maintenance of such an aim can be looked for only from a special association (under whatever name) of men of special and rare knowledge, qualified for their task by a lifetime of such experience as no man can pick up in Parliament, or attain anywhere in a hurry. When we cease to rule India for the Indians, we lose India; and to vest the service of India in the Horse Guards and our civil departments, is to hand over India and the Indians to parties whose distinctive characteristic it is to regard all public service as a patrimony of their own.

*What not to do.*—What, then, is to be done? This question might be sufficiently answered by another, Why do anything in the way of change

at this moment? and it should perhaps be the first step to compel from Lord Palmerston an avowal of his reason for bringing forward a revolutionary scheme in a season of turmoil and distress on that very topic. This taken care of, the next object is to be certain as to what ought *not* to be done. We should not legislate unnecessarily in a time of excitement. We should not legislate hastily when the means of knowledge are in our hands, and the knowledge itself can be had by methods already instituted, and in time for all practical purposes. We should not legislate for a hundred millions of people when our field of vision is engrossed by a class of a hundred thousand. We should not legislate in a mood of depression from grief, or of passion from injury. We should not legislate by means of an unprepared House of Commons, recently elected by unwarned constituencies. We should not, for any slight or doubtful reasons, risk the distrust and alienation which will infallibly be occasioned throughout India by the deposition of the great, immutable sovereign, the Company, which has been the object of their allegiance for successive generations. We should not permit the deposition of such an authority in an hour of adversity, for which, if any authority is answerable, it is not mainly the Company, but, in the first place, the Board of Control, which has long been finally and supremely responsible for measures of Government in relation to India. We should not hastily extinguish the power (too singular to be ever replaced) by which our Asiatic empire

was acquired and has been sustained, without cost to the British people, while supporting millions of them by a commerce capable of comprehending tens of millions more. We should not throw away the vast stores, or crush the prodigious apparatus of Indian knowledge which exists in the midst of us, combined in the form of a government unparalleled in the history of the world for civic success and social progression, no resources being at our command for supplying the need if, by Act of Parliament, this moving power is blown off into space, and, as a motive force, annihilated. This is enough. We must not be rash. We are ignorant; but that defect may be repaired, if only we will not be rash.

*What to do.*—As for what is to be done, as well as not done;—we must investigate the whole subject. The Company has set on foot an inquiry into the causes of the revolt. Parliament should do the same; and the inquiry should comprehend a complete review of the whole theory and practice of Indian Government, at least, from the institution of the double Government till now. The requisite basis of knowledge obtained, the ulterior aims may be pursued, and the progression of our Indian empire provided for, whether by the Company's policy, revised, amended, and brought into coalescence with the Imperial Government, or by another scheme. Then will be the time for determining how much of the general form and active laws of our Indian empire, as well as grace and honours, shall be furnished from home, and how much legislative power on local matters shall be

confided to the Indian Government. Then will be the time for deciding how the consultative and administrative functions shall be divided between an Indian Council at home and another at Calcutta, or Agra, or some other centre. Then will be the time for deciding the extent to which natives should be admitted into consultation, legislation, and administration. Then will be the time for determining the powers of the head of the Government in India,—whatever may be his title in that day. At present, all we really know is that all errors or short-comings, in any quarter, should be ascertained and remedied: that all means of information in regard to India and its people should be welcomed and cherished; that the object should be set before the national mind in its fair and full proportions: and that, till reform or an enlargement of method can be achieved, every risk of anarchy in India and destructive rashness at home should be avoided as the crowning peril of the whole situation. The Company must be sustained as the one bulwark of our Indian empire till we are sure we have provided ourselves with a better.

It is in all men's mouths that Lord Palmerston cannot be aware of what he is doing in attempting to extinguish, without notice, such a national power as the East India Company. Certainly, he is not aware; and who can be surprised? He is not a reader of such books as give light on the history and policy of the empire; and his intercourses do not extend beyond the class, or perhaps the clique, with reference to whom his scheme of Indian Government in England

is framed. He is not easily impressed with astonishment or any other youthful emotion; therefore he may not be so amazed as the rest of the world when the real scope of the question comes to be revealed; nor so ashamed at the relation his hasty scheme cannot but bear to such a department of the national policy. It is the more necessary that the legislature and the constituencies should be prepared to judge him, and analyze his scheme in such a season of peril and disturbance. The great duty of the hour is for all citizens, in and out of Parliament, to show that they insist on taking time. If the people of England will but see that the public servants lose no time in administering the pressing practical affairs of India, and that their representatives gain time for legislating on India, all may yet turn out well. But we must lose no chances, and run no risks.

*Probable tendency of reforms.*—It would be presumptuous to speak with any confidence about the scheme in which a due inquiry would issue. The strongest probability seems to be that more weight will be assigned to the Anglo-Indian element than at present, and that all administration, and some minor legislation in India itself, will be confided exclusively to Anglo-Indians and natives, that is, to men who have gone through the requisite training, and proved a certain amount of qualification. The most important consideration of all will be the appointment of the head of the Government, and the Governors of the presidencies; and we may then hope to see an end of the desperate practice

of sending out as Governor-General an Englishman, not only wholly unacquainted with life in Hindostan, but absorbed, during his foregoing years, in a kind of life most opposite to that of India. It will probably be admitted hereafter that, of all Englishmen, a nobleman who has not been from his youth up an active professional man, and largely conversant with various nations, must be most unfit for the responsibilities of Indian government? and that the only order of men from which the ruler of such an empire can properly be taken is that of Indian officials who have won their eminence by desert. The present universal suggestion of Sir John Lawrence for the post is an illustration of what is felt to be needed.

In the next place, it will probably be determined to assign to the Council in India (under whatever name it may then exist) such legislative powers about purely Indian affairs of minor importance as may obviate the delays, uncertainties, and mistakes, which at present paralyse much of the action of the authorities at all the presidencies. It is true the establishment of the electric telegraph will do away with much of the delay and difficulty incessantly complained of; but there will always be emergencies to be provided for; and there will always be departments of purely Indian affairs of which Parliament must be an inferior judge to the authorities on the spot.

The constitution of that Indian Council will be an object of high importance, under the danger of the

purely English element abounding too much on the one hand, and the narrowness of the Anglo-Indian official element on the other. Possibly there may be an admission of Anglo-Indians from outside the official class; and also of natives of adequate character and attainments. If this is not practicable, there may perhaps be two Chambers of Council; and their business may consist of something more than of advice and suggestion, and extend to legislation below the line of primary institutions. If so, one of the two must be to a certain extent representative by election, and will include more or less representation of native interests, together with the Anglo-Indian, and in due proportion to it. The great interests involved in the development of the country will have their expression in such a local council and administration; and then the public works of India will be carried out with more vigour and good sense than they could easily be by a divided authority in England. Such a mode of government would facilitate the protection of the country by its native forces, without running the risk of a new Bengal army at all resembling the old. Such a mode of government would produce more and more administrative ability within itself, so as to lessen perpetually the danger and mischief arising from the inexperience and misconceptions of British strangers entering the country only to rule it. Such a mode of government would increase perpetually the intimacy between the native and the immigrant races, now too much checked by the exclusiveness of the British element,

and sure to be rendered altogether impossible, if India were brought under the direct government of the Crown and Parliament, in the sense contemplated at the present moment.

It will be said that such a scheme will not bring India more closely under British control, but rather remove her further from it. It may, nevertheless, be found to be the best policy. India can never become, more or less, another England; and her welfare, as India, is the consideration to which all others must give way. By practically admitting this, England will profit to the utmost, as well as India, as our greatest gain must arise from the fullest development and contentment of our dependency. If England remains the fountain of honour, and the source of law, the ultimate authority, and the aristocracy of nature, from which the guiding, controlling, and educational influences of Indian society are derived: if England supplies a perpetual influx of knowledge and of arts, and sustains a commerce which will continuously develope and enrich the country, this is surely sufficient honour and profit for the proprietary country. It is all that a conscientious, honourable and disinterested European nation ought to desire; and it is all that the nineteenth century of Christian civilization ought to award. It will not satisfy the low-minded, who are using an hour of national calamity to appeal to popular vindictiveness and aristocratic cupidity; and it may surprise thoughtless and ignorant people, who fancy that the more directly any country in the world is brought under our King,

Lords, and Commons, the happier it must be: but a due inquiry may convince a good many minds that there are strong limitations to that patriotic doctrine. Let us have the inquiry, in the first place; and, till we are in possession of its results, let us appreciate the advantage of having in the midst of us, in the East India Company, a body organized for the government of the most difficult empire in the world, — a ruling body which has done more for its clients than any other form or body of government ever did before. It may be time to modify it: but, till it is ascertained how that had best be done, it will be wise to use its influence and its experience, and to enhance rather than lessen its authority. This must be the safest immediate course, whatever may be the ultimate decision.

THE END.

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